WILLIAM THORNTON
BENJAMIN H. LATROBE
THOMAS U. WALTER

And the Classical Influence in their Works

BY

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A DISSERTATION

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FOREWORD

The following monograph undertakes to review the careers of William Thornton, Benjamin H. Latrobe, and Thomas U. Walter, with especial reference to the classical influence in their works. The reason these particular men are chosen is easily demonstrated. On the one hand they exhibit in their works the three successive phases of the Classical style found in American architecture prior to the modern revival dating from the World's Fair (1893); on the other hand, they are chiefly responsible for the form of the United States Capitol, thereby permitting the investigator to note contrasts and comparisons in their uses of classical forms as they successively face the same problems. Other possible architects are omitted in order to focus attention on these three and because, for one reason or another, the others are less significant for the present purpose. For example, Charles Bulfinch, though he made important contributions to the Capitol design was fated to have his dome superseded, Thomas Jefferson is best considered an influential amateur in this connection, Strickland and Mills merely developed important elements of Latrobe's style, and so on. The fact remains, then, that Thornton, his style still transitional from Colonial forms, and Latrobe, the "Father of the Greek Revival," and Walter, the late exponent of archaeological beauty, together illustrate the evolution of the style we have to survey.

In the effort to keep the material in hand, the following scheme will be followed. The career of each architect will be traced at the beginning of the section devoted to him, followed by a description of his known or attributed works, with references so far as may be to their illustration and discussion, and concluded with a consideration of the classical influences to be seen in these works, their possible sources, and the conscious or unconscious dependence on them.

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PENNSYLVANIA HISTORY

William Thornton, Architect

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WILLIAM THORNTON, ARCHITECT

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THE first source for any investigation into the career of William Thornton must always be the Thornton Papers, given to the Library of Congress by J. Henley Smith, the grandson of Mrs. Samuel Harrison Smith, executor of Mrs. Thornton's estate, to whom the latter had given them. In spite of this mass of authentic material, however, the investigators maintain their long-lived right of disagreement. The birth date at least seems definitely settled, despite variations, if an autobiographical diary can be followed, namely, May 20, 1759; the place of birth is usually given as Tortola, the largest of the Virgin Islands, but perhaps more exactly, it should be given as the small neighboring island of Joost van Dyke. The parental names, according to Mrs. Thornton, were probably, William, in the case of the father, and certainly, Dorcas Downing Zeagus, in the case of the mother. The father was an English Quaker from Lancashire, engaged in planting. Either the father or an uncle was governor of Tortola at the time of Thornton's birth. When the child was two years old, his father died, and at five he was sent to his parental grandmother's home, *Green-Air,* in Lancashire, obtaining his early schooling at that place. At sixteen, a three-year apprenticeship began with Dr. Fell of Ulverstone, followed by three years at the University of Edinburgh devoted to the study of medicine, with graduation in 1784. His parchment is preserved at the Library of Congress. Hospital experience had been obtained at St. Bartholomew's Hospital in London, where he resided with his stepfather, Hon. Thomas Thomasson. After a brief trip to Tortola he continued his studies in Paris. He also was active socially, frequenting the salon, among others, of the Countess of Beauharnais. As early as 1782, he had been elected a correspondent of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland, and during the period under discussion traveled in Europe with Count Andriani, the naturalist. Again there was a trip to Tortola, followed by departure for America the latter part of 1786. After stopping in New York and Philadelphia, he was naturalized in Delaware as an

American citizen, January 7, 1788, and left for Tortola again in April of the same year.

Most of the time prior to his marriage in 1790, however, was spent in Philadelphia, where we shall see his activities were growing numerous. Benjamin Franklin, we may note in passing, invited the young doctor to dinner, as proved by an item preserved among the Thornton Papers. On October 13, 1790, he married Anna Maria Brodeau of Philadelphia, a girl of fifteen, the daughter of the headmistress of a finishing school for young ladies, and left on the 16th for Tortola with his bride. Over two years later he returned to the states on November 16, 1792, and settled in Philadelphia. Appointed a Commissioner of the District of Columbia by President Washington, September 2, 1794, he moved to Washington, where he resided the rest of his life, taking charge of the issuance of patents upon his appointment by President Jefferson in May 1802. He died in Washington, March 28, 1828. He had no children and was long survived by his widow.

So much for the outline of his career. His personality was an interesting one, arousing great affection and bitter hostility. The most frequently quoted characterization is by William Dunlap in 1834: "He was a scholar and a gentleman—full of talent and eccentricity—a Quaker by profession, a painter, a poet, and a horse-racer—well acquainted with the mechanic arts—at the head of the patent office, and was one of the original projectors (with John Fitch) of steamboats and the author of an excellent treatise on language, called "Cadmus." He was a man of infinite humor—humane and generous, yet fond of field sports—his company was a complete antidote to dullness."

The perusal of his letters, to be found not only among the Thornton Papers, but in the libraries of Philadelphia and New York, helps to supplement Dunlap. At the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, for example, a letter to a Michael Withers from the Superintendent of the Patent Office returns one dollar and urges reflection on the thought that an imposition is equal to robbery; and, more intelligibly, a letter to the Directors of the Bank of Columbia from Thornton as a Commissioner of the District, quoted here only in part from a closely written three-page epistle, reveals still more of he character of the writer:

City of Washington 11th Dec. 1810.

Gentlemen:

When a Day of payment arrives, consider how afflictive it must be, if disappointed by the comforts of a receipt Day, especially when a large and helpful Family wants food. - When I last addressed you, I did it in great confidence, for an evil genius must have arisen from the late Tempests, and the bawl of discord must have affected you if liberality has left her old abode in your lofty Temple of Dives. . . .

I know there is a general call on the Banks at present, throughout the Union; but that is a dextrous, or rather sinister manoeuvre of the Bank of the U. S. to obtain another Charter; and you are no doubt *"up to it."* Under a full conviction that I shall experience a continuance of that liberality which I have always found in your Institution,

I am,

Gentlemen,

Very respectfully y . . etc.

President and Directors
of the Bank of Columbia

(Signed) William Thornton

Again there is in the Ridgeway Library in Philadelphia a letter to the same patient directors, asking for leniency in regard to a loan, endeavoring once more with facetious circumlocution to arouse their sympathy, this time for the suffering of his starving live-stock. Gaillard Hunt sums it up with dispatch: "He was a contentious man, and the habit grew on him as he grew older. He was the writer of long, explanatory, circumstantial letters, all true enough, but doubtless wearisome to receive. He quarreled with his fellow Commissioners of the District, with Fulton over the steamboats, with Latrobe over the Capitol. He importuned Congress on many subjects, the Secretary of State over the Patent Office, the President on Appointments to office and public questions. He became a man with grievances and claims. I have read many of these letters and they seem convincing that he was right. Nevertheless, I can imagine how sorry his correspondents were

to receive them, how reluctantly they read them, and how difficult they found it to answer them, knowing, as they did, that he would be sure to write more long letters in reply." Forever eager, and usually forced to subside, he was often disappointed; over failure to gain a diplomatic post in South America, for example. Yet on occasion he could be brave, if one can follow his own *ex post facto* memory, as in the British attack on Washington in 1814. Legend tells how he stopped the hostile troops from firing the Patent Office by appealing to them to save the depository of American ingenuity with its world-wide interests. "Are you Englishmen or only Goths and Vandals?" he is said to have begun. He was also highly sensitive, Mrs. Madison, the President's wife, having to reassure him often that no slight had been intended. A self-appointed host to all the visitors of distinction to the new Federal City, he no doubt earned the tribute of Mrs. Merry, the wife of the British Minister: "Mr. Thornton was indefatigable in his endeavors to procure us every comfort. He is a quiet, sensible, well-informed man, without brilliancy, or elocution. Well-educated and full of information, which he details slowly from a natural impediment in his speech." His portraits show a face marked by intelligent eyes, and a generally handsome aspect.

The most unfortunate controversy of Thornton's career, no doubt, was the bitter one with the architect, Benjamin H. Latrobe, no less unfortunate because the point of view of each is capable of justification. The envelope among the Thornton Papers which contains some of the heated comments by Thornton during the height of the dispute (and accepted by the Library on condition that it should not be opened until 1925) indicates clearly how exasperating such an antagonist must have been. A single example must suffice. Thornton had stated during one of the skirmishes in the verbal and pamphlet warfare that Latrobe had come to America as a Moravian missionary. When Latrobe heatedly denied the statement, Thornton replied, in the public press, that he was no doubt mistaken, but far from intending to cast any reflection by his statement, he had merely wished to make clear that Latrobe was not to be considered an authority in architecture. A feature of the controversy which, as always in such tempests in teapots, added fuel was the continued friendliness of the "ladies" of the families, causing matters of courtesy and sincerity to be injected. A law-suit for $10,000 finally brought by

Latrobe to silence his antagonist resulted in the at least moral victory of a one-cent award.

The manifold activities of the versatile Thornton must be reviewed. First, as artist. Early in his career he playfully deceived his uncle when the latter was asked to choose between two engraved bank-notes, one of which was by the nephew. We know he illustrated natural history books, and that at *Tudor Place* in Georgetown a miniature by him of George Washington is preserved. It is in this last field that he was most active, though we read of still-life studies, of the mace he designed for the State of Virginia, and of an elaborate monument of George Washington which he projected. The miniatures would include in addition to Washington, those of Countess Beauharnais, Jefferson, Mrs. Madison, Thornton himself, and his wife.

Next, as inventor. The most notable of his endeavors in this field was his coöperation with John Fitch in steamboat experiments, resulting in his controversy with Robert Fulton, and his subsequent claims that Fulton had fraudulently used his designs. The sources for this matter are Thornton's own pamphlet issued in 1818, Clark's review of the matter, and especially, Gaillard Hunt's letter to the New York *Nation*. Unfortunate for the formation of definite conclusions, is the destruction of Fulton's original patent drawings, when the Patent Office was destroyed by fire in 1836. Many patents were awarded to Thornton. The list is given by Clark and concerns chiefly the application of steam to various devices. We read also of his project for turning sawdust into boards, and of his efforts to reclaim some Potomac flats, now a major part of Potomac Park, the site of the Lincoln Memorial. Fernando Fairfax paid him £2000 for a quarter interest in his patents and manufacturing companies. The New York Public Library contains a Thornton Memorandum in which he calls the attention of the Secretary of the Navy to a few objects, viz: "the preparations of gunpowder, a furnace to heat cannon balls, steam engine to propel ships, carronades, slow-burning cartridge paper; a Deadly poison, known & might be used aaginst an Enemy; wire shirts which will turn bullets, etc., Washington, D. C., 1789."

Aside from his work as architect, toward which we are moving, Thornton was variously versatile. The mere list is imposing. We know that he gave up the practice of medicine before leaving Phila-

delphia for Washington. Prior to this break in his career he had shown interest in phonetic alphabets, with the application of such a scheme to the teaching of the deaf to speak. An essay, entitled, *Cadmus,* and written while in Tortola after his marriage, won the Magellanic gold medal of the American Philosophical Society in 1793, the appendix to which with its discussion of teaching the deaf to speak has been republished at least twice in our own day. He was a member of the American Philosophical Society, a founder of the Columbian Institute of Washington, and throughout his entire life a champion of Negro colonization in Africa. His activities in this last connection have been summarized by Gaillard Hunt; they caused much correspondence with John Coakley Lettson, who secured information from Granville Sharpe of the Sierra Leone experiment, and led to a project for Thornton himself to conduct a group of free Negroes from Rhode Island and Boston to Africa; to correspondence with the President of the French society, *Les Amis des Noirs,* and, after his marriage when active participation in colonization schemes was less practical, to the suggestion (1802) of turning Porto Rico over to free Negroes. In 1816, he wrote to Henry Clay, one of the leaders of the American Colonization Society, and enclosed his pamphlet, *Political Economy,* which favored abolition by ransom.

We have seen that he was a Commissioner of the District of Columbia for five years. The proceedings of the Commissioners take on a more business-like form from the date of his appointment. The building regulations promulgated July 20, 1795, are presumably of Thornton's composition, and as late as 1799 he was in correspondence with General Washington in regard to the public and private rights of the triangular spaces occasioned by the axial arrangements of the streets of the city. Also under the head of activities as Commissioner would come his dreams, rather than plans, for a national university, in which Washington was also much interested. A pamphlet, *Public Education* (1796), outlined his ideas. For the last twenty-five years of his life he had charge of the issuance of patents, ruling the office autocratically and at times extra-legally (for example waiving the fees of the impecunious), but without causing any suspicion of maladministration when a deficit was found after his death. His letter to the Secretary of State, January 16, 1818, defining the reissue of patents is said to be comparable to that of a legal text-

writer. His gifts as a poet to which reference is often made were limited to cleverness, if the sample given by Clark is a fair one. As a citizen he served as a local magistrate; and, despite his Quaker background, as a citizen-soldier; also as an organizer of the Washington Assemblies (1800). As citizen or Commissioner, or both, he organized a race-course, and he helped to promote without financial success a fire insurance venture and a North Carolina gold mine. He planned a market house on Pennsylvania avenue, where Center Market stood until recently. He wrote endless letters to the papers and to innumerable correspondents on all the subjects he was interested in, including somnambulism, breeding of horses, and landscape gardening. As the friend of freedom, he championed South American movements toward independence, preparing a pamphlet on the subject: *Outlines of a Constitution for United North and South Columbia.* In it he projects a second pamphlet on education in a republic, outlining a scheme which he says had won the approval of General Washington. He also states that he is preparing a pamphlet on the Christian religion, freed of stumbling-blocks. The copy of the *Constitution* in the Ridgeway Library was presented by the author to John Howard Payne.

He was a close friend of Washington's, applying as early as 1793 for a position as his secretary; he was given some trees by the General for his farm, *Park Grove,* near Washington (Jefferson helped him improve his breed of sheep), and he was frequently asked to do small errands by Mrs. Washington. He recommended suitable sculptors to Senator Macon of North Carolina when that state wished to erect a Washington monument, and he urged in a letter to Chief Justice Marshall that the Father of His Country be buried under the dome of the Capitol. His city garden, finally, opposite the site of his masterful *Octagon,* raised buckwheat for his table; he was a lover and breeder and racer of horses; and he lost much money in racing and in unwise loans.

We come now to the buildings certainly or probably designed by Thornton, and to his distinguished work as architect. By way of introduction, we can do no better than quote his own account of what his training in architecture consisted of. Bryan quotes an autobiographical item in this connection, and further details are given in a letter from the Thornton Papers quoted by Kimball

and Bennett: "I saw a publication for a plan of a public library in Philadelphia offering a premium for the best.

"When I traveled, I never thought of architecture, but I got some books and worked a few days, then gave a plan in the ancient Ionic order, which carried the day.

"The President and Secretary of State published a premium of a gold medal and a lot for a house in the city of Washington for the best plan and elevation of a capitol of the United States. I lamentated not having studied architecture, and resolved to attempt the grand undertaking and study at the same time. I studied some months and worked almost night and day, but found I was opposed by regular architects from France and various other countries.

"The Capitol is after a design of my own. . . . It will perhaps be deemed presumptuous that I began to study Architecture and to work for Prizes at the same time. . . . A Plan for a Public Library in Philadelphia was proposed, and the Prize for the best Plan, &c., was a Share in the Company. I studied Architecture, set to work, and drew one of the ancient Ionic Order: This Order I admire much.—The Prize was adjudged to me.—What will not Encouragement do? I afterwards had confidence enough to draw a Plan and Elevation for the Capitol of the United States; which, after much deliberation, opposition, and long Examinations was adjudged to me. . . ."

The earliest design of which the record speaks is that for the Philadelphia Library, the competition for which Thornton won in 1789, receiving a share of Library stock (valued at forty dollars) as prize. The building on Fifth Street opposite Independence Square was torn down in 1880. The most notable feature of the design was the triumphal arch motive, four colossal pilasters rising to a pediment, which dominate the center of the façade of a brick building with white stone trimmings. The order is Ionic, Kimball and Bennett calling it Palladian rather than "ancient," as Thornton thought. Perhaps the origin of the design was textual, but good taste was in control of the use being made of the source.

Next we reach *Woodlawn,* Fairfax County, Virginia, bequeathed to Eleanor Parke Lewis and her husband by George Washington, and *Montpelier,* Madison's home in Orange County, Virginia. The basis for attributing *Woodlawn* to him is a diary

entry by Mrs. Thornton, August 4, 1800: "Mrs. Lewis . . . . and I went in Mrs. Washington's carriage to see Mr. Lewis's Hill where he is going to build. Dr. T. has given him a plan for his house." The cogency of the *Montpelier* attribution is less obvious. The center of the house was built by the father of James Madison, the portico was added in 1793, and the wings later, at first of a single story. It is called Thornton's design by Brown and Clark; but Kimball, and by way of echo, Frary, think otherwise. It may be that in connection with the addition of the wings (1808-10), Thornton made his sketch and gave hints. *Brentwood,* Florida avenue and Fifth street, N. E. Washington, may be briefly considered. Clark gives it to Thornton. All other authorities to Latrobe, to whom its style certainly awards it.

In the case of the Roman Catholic Cathedral in Baltimore, the names of Latrobe and Thornton are again connected. Kimball believes Thornton's activities in this connection were volunteered—without stated warrant. At any rate, Bishop Carroll was given a sketch by Thornton, no longer extant, which like the designs of the Capitol were thought by Latrobe to be impractical, when he was asked to comment on them by the trustees. Only thus indirectly can Thornton's design be judged. Fifty-four Corinthian columns, thirty feet high, are spoken of, with a "tower or dome" resting on some of them without the support of piers or relieving arches. The significance of the structure was clearly expressed in the design, but the conception was unduly expensive, and, Latrobe thought, impossible of stone construction.

Again, in the case of the University of Virginia, the same two architects are met, both being consulted by Jefferson in regard to the architectural scheme to be followed. The letters which passed between Jefferson and Thornton on the subject given by Glenn Brown from the Thornton Papers. In Jefferson's letter, dated Monticello May 9, 1817, he outlines the scheme as he had formulated it, provides a rough sketch, and calls for suggestions. Thornton replied with two sketches and loquacity. Some of his suggestions were valuable. With Latrobe's suggestions slow in arriving, Jefferson started building (Pavilion VII, now Colonnade Club) on July 8, 1817, using some of Thornton's ideas. The arches below and the Doric columns above are as in Thornton's Doric sketch, though the second story is lower, and a pediment is added. Dormitories were to have columns in front,

as Thornton suggested, Jefferson told Latrobe on August 3, 1817, and colonnade and arcade were to alternate. The roof, however, was to be kept flat, contrary to Thornton's deais. The Visitors later decided that additional rooms should be added when necessary to the faculty quarters as Thornton had advised. The working drawings Jefferson made for this Pavilion, incorporating some of Thornton's suggestions, are given by Adams.[1] We may note here that the drawings for the University of Virginia preserved at the University are held by Glenn Brown to be by Thornton; but Kimball is certain they are by Jefferson. The sketches sent by Thornton in the letter of May 27, 1817, are given by Kimball and are taken from the University of Virginia Archives, Jefferson Drawings, No. 16.[2] A Doric prostyle colonnade is noted over an arcade, and the use of a portico over a rectangular basement. Kimball finds only at *Poplar Forest* (1804) a preceding instance of this arrangement; elsewhere the portico is above a semi-circular or segmental base.

The last debatable design of Thornton's is that for *Homewood,* Baltimore. Kimball says in *American Architecture* that *Homewood* is a Thornton house, and Miss LaFollette in *Art in America* follows suit. Recent research, however, has shown quite conclusively that a local carpenter, William Edwards, is to be credited with this early republic gem.[3] On the other hand, mention may also be made of this connection of the belief of Dr. James Bordley, Baltimore, himself an amateur antiquarian of distinction, that Thornton will yet be revealed as the architect of *Homewood* when the letters between his collateral ancestress, Miss Gibson, as well as those of Nellie Custis and others are made public. They are now in the keeping of Mr. Roland S. Morris, Philadelphia.

The *Octagon House,* 1741 New York Avenue, N.W., Washington, is Thornton's masterpiece. It is now the home of the American Institute of Architects. The definitive publication regarding it is by Glenn Brown. Little else can, or need, be said. The house was built for John Tayloe between 1798 and 1800, and

[1] H. B. Adams, *Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia* (Washington, 1888), p. 13.
[2] *Thomas Jefferson, Architect* (Boston, 1916) Plate 212.
[3] Z. T. H. Halsey (ed.), *Great Georgian Houses of America* (New York, 1933), p. 18.

served as the President's house for a period during Madison's administration, following the burning of the White House.

Glenn Brown says he had in his possession several of Thornton's designs for private houses. There is abundant proof at least for the house known in 1896 as the Hillman House on North Capitol street between B and C streets, designed and superintended by Thornton for General Washington. Its site is now part of the Capitol Park extension toward Union Station. Brown saw some of the interior woodwork and thought it showed the skill and refinement of the architect. He mentions, but does not locate, an "old sketch" which "gives an idea of the exterior of this building as it appeared in 1793"—an obvious slip, since Washington did not buy the lots until 1798. In a letter to Thornton, dated at Mount Vernon, October 1799, found in the Thornton Papers, Washington says he built the house for the convenience of members of the government, while for himself he planned to choose some other site when such plans would prove feasible. He did not, however, survive the year.

The last of Thornton's own designs is that of *Tudor Place,* 31st and Q streets, Georgetown, built for Thomas Peter, about 1810, and still occupied by lineal descendants. Studies of the plan are among the Thornton Papers, and of the elevation at the *Octagon House.* Brown gives a ground plan, notable for its skillful use of the fashionable oval room.[4] The omission of these features in the house as built is regrettable, probably for reasons of economy. The plan as built is given in Ware.[5] The exterior as built is quite similar to the extant elevations by Thornton. Of stuccoed brick, painted yellow, it has white woodwork. It is of two stories with the characteristic wide hall through the center. Galleries connect with the two wings. A circular porch in the Soane tradition marks the south entrance, decorated in the Tuscan manner. The semi-circular headed windows of the first floor are balanced above by triple windows on either side of the semidome of the portico. The whole does not impress the spectator as showing the happy unity of the *Octagon,* or the charming obviousness of *Homewood.*

We come now to the United States Capitol, the critical history

[4] Glenn Brown, *The Octagon* (American Institute of Architects), p. 64.
[5] W. R. Ware, *Georgian Period* (New York, 1923), III.

of which can be traced through some sixty years of controversy. The early critics stressed the importance of Hallet and of Latrobe, and tended to minimize the significance of Thornton. Then came Glenn Brown's exhaustive *History of the United States Capitol* in 1900, which strongly rehabilitated the Thornton legend. Recently, Fiske Kimball and Wells Bennett have examined new drawings and letters, rearranged the old drawings, and made clear that Hallet is deserving of a share of the credit for the "Old Capitol," while the prospective issuance of new Latrobe material by Ferdinand C. Latrobe promises once more to revitalize the Latrobe claims. The body of material has now grown so large that present purposes call for little more than a summary of the present state of the problem, based on the current classification of material. It seems that the drawings submitted by Stephen Hallet at the close of the competition were found preferable but not quite satisfactory, and that the Commissioners retained him to prepare a modified scheme. Thornton was then permitted to submit his drawings later, after having seen or at least heard of Hallet's designs and the desired modifications. These post-competitive drawings by Thornton were then premiated, but the monetary award was divided between Hallet and Thornton, the former being engaged to take charge of the construction of the building. Modifications of a practical nature were soon found necessary. When the builder attempted to restore some of his own ideas, a first-class quarrel developed between the professional architect and the amateur-designer, who had won the competition and who had now become a Commissioner. The upshot was Hallet's dismissal. When George Hadfield took charge he called for the drawings, and a "modified" set were produced by Thornton, no doubt profited by the recent controversy. The "original" drawings thereupon disappeared. When Latrobe took charge, fresh controversy broke out. With Jefferson's backing, Latrobe made significant changes, resulting eventually in Latrobe's resignation. At present the east façade of the center wings reveals Thornton's late colonial manner, the legislative halls of the Old Capitol (now Statuary Hall and the Supreme Court) the genius of Latrobe.

In conclusion, we must agree, I think, that Hallet and Thornton share the honors for the original design, and that Latrobe was justified in terms of accuracy, if not of tact, in writing at one time

that Thornton's design was one of the first of modern times, and at another, that with brilliant ideas, he yet lacked practical skill necessary for the execution and articulation of a plan.

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A primary source for Thornton's career, aside frm the Thornton Papers, is A. C. Clark, "Dr. and Mrs. William Thornton," *Columbia Historical Records,* XVIII, (1914). Thornton's own pamphlets are also important: *Teaching the Deaf, or Surd, and Consequently Dumb, to Speak,* Philadelphia, 1793; *Political Economy Founded in Justice and Humanity,* Washington, 1804; *Outlines of a Constitution for United North and South Columbia,* Washington, 1815; and *Short Account of the Origin of Steam Boats,* Albany, 1818. G. H. Hunt, "William Thornton and John Fitch," *Nation,* New York, XCVIII, (1914), and "William Thornton and Negro Civilization," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society,* (1920), review two important phases of his activity. For his architecture, see J. Jackson, *Early Philadelphia Architects and Engineers,* Philadelphia, 1923; C. Jackson, "Tudor Place," *Columbia Historical Society Records,* XXV, (1923); and, G. Brown, *The Octagon,* American Institute of Architects, n. d. Also, G. Brown, "Dr. William Thornton, Architect," *Architectural Record,* VI, (1896); G. Brown, "Letters from Thomas Jefferson and William Thornton, Architect, Relating to the University of Virginia," *Journal of the American Institute of Architects,* (1913); F. Kimball, *Thomas Jefferson, Architect,* Boston, 1916; F. Kimball, *Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic,* New York, 1927; and I. T. Frary, *Thomas Jefferson, Architect and Builder,* Richmond, 1931. For the Capitol controversy, see B. H. Latrobe, *Journal of,* New York, 1905; G. Brown, *History of the United States Capitol,* Washington, 1900-1903; W. B. Bryan, *History of the National Capitol,* New York, 1916; and the two authoritative studies by F. Kimball and Wells Bennett, "William Thornton and his Designs for the National Capitol," *Art Studies,* I, (1923), and, "The Competition for the Federal Buildings 1792-1793," *Journal of the American Institute of Architects,* VII-VIII, (1919-1920).

BENJAMIN H. LATROBE AND THE CLASSICAL INFLUENCE IN HIS WORK.

William Sener Rusk.

In the case of Benjamin H. Latrobe, the facts of his career are already well known, and generally speaking, readily available. In the discussion here we shall, therefore, limit ourselves to a brief summary, with the sources indicated, a list of his works wherever known, with their illustration, and a discussion, as occasion warrants, of his classical prototypes. *The Journal of Latrobe* (1), with its introduction by his son, John H. B. Latrobe, is probably the best source to begin with. As a corollary would come *John H. B. Latrobe and His Times*, by John E. Semmes (2), with its numerous early references to the father, and the extract from Latrobe's diaries in Appleton's Book-lovers' Magazine (2a). Early appreciations of Latrobe's career are found in *Ackermann's Repository* for January, 1821 (3), and in Dunlap's *Arts of Design* (3a). Another convenient summary is found in *Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography* (3b). Latrobe's own literary works include, *Charac-*

teristic Anecdotes . . . to illustrate the character of Frederick II, late King of Prussia, London, 1788 (4), and, *Authentic Elucidation of the History of Counts Struensee and Brandt, and of the Revolution in Denmark in the year 1772,* London, 1789 (translated from the German) (5), and an Anniversary Oration, May 8, 1811, before the Society of Artists in Philadelphia (6). The latest survey, prior to the projected publication by F. C. Latrobe, Frederick, Maryland, is by Fiske Kimball, in the recent volume of the *Dictionary of American Biography* (7). Another recent survey is by Rexford Newcomb (7a).

The next part of our bibliography would be references to works of Latrobe with their criticism; first, general publications, with Latrobe mentioned among others. F. Kimball, *Domestic Architecture* (8), and Howard Major, *Domestic Architecture of the Early American Republic: The Greek Revival* (9) would head the list. F. Kimball's *Thomas Jefferson, Architect* (10), I. T. Frary, *Thomas Jefferson, Architect and Builder* (11), T. T. Waterman and J. A. Barrows, *Domestic Architecture of Tidewater Virginia* (12), J. M. Howells, *Lost Examples of Colonial Architecture* (13), T. F. Hamlin, *American Spirit in Architecture* (14), T. E. Tallmadge, *Story of Architecture in America* (15), F. Kimball, *American Architecture* (16), G. H. Edgell, *American Architecture of Today* (17), W. R. Ware, *Georgian Period* (17a), J. Jackson, *Early Philadelphia Architects and Engineers* (17b), and J. Jackson, *Encyclopedia of Philadelphia* (17c) would naturally follow. Individual buildings by Latrobe would come next. *The Documentary History* (18) and Glenn Brown, *The History of the United States Capitol* (19), and W. B. Bryan, *History of the National Capitol* (20) are fundamental. J. Q. Howard, *The Architects of the American Capitol* (21), J. H. B. Latrobe, *The Capitol and Washington at the beginning of the present century,* the addresses of P. B. Wight (23) and Adolph Cluss (24) at the 1875 and 1876 Conventions of the A. I. A., the latter annotated by J. H. B. Latrobe before its presentation, and G. A. Town-

send, *Washington Outside and Inside* (25), present the earlier accounts of the relation of Latrobe to the Capitol design. C. E. Fairman, *Art and Artists of the U. S. Capitol* (26) contains much Latrobe material of the same nature. Many papers read at the meetings of the Columbia Historical Society are of value (27), and in a recent volume of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* (28), J. H. B. Latrobe's remarks when the competitive drawings for the Capitol design were presented in 1865 are given. For Latrobe's work in the completion of the State Capitol at Richmond, we have Kimball's account (29); for his Bank of Pennsylvania and Bank of the United States in Philadelphia, we have Kimball's accounts (30, 31); for his Centre Square Water Works, Philadelphia, Fitz-Gibbons' account and J. H. B. Latrobe's reminiscences of 1876 (32a). For the cathedral in Baltimore, there is Kimball's survey (33), and the Latrobe letters to Bishop Carroll on the subject in *Cathedral Records* (34). Riggin Buckler published with measured drawings the Harper Springhouse, now at the Baltimore Museum of Art (35); E. Ashton has reported on the cornstalk columns in the Capitol (36), and F. Kimball has commented on Latrobe's Dry-dock at Washington in The Michigan Technic (37). Latrobe's work at the Washington Navy Yard is described in Captain H. B. Hibben's report (37a).

We turn now to manuscripts. For an exhaustive bibliography of Latrobe and the Capitol, Glenn Brown (19) is authoritative to the date of its publication. Fiske Kimball in his D. A. B. article speaks of material still inaccessible, in the possession of F. C. Latrobe (7), including nineteen volumes of polygraphic recordings, twelve pocket diaries and note-books, fifteen sketch books and many drawings. In the Library of Congress are two volumes of letters relating to the Capitol, and Gamble Latrobe, Wilmington, Delaware, owns some letters. The papers which John E. Semmes used are now in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society. The J. Henley Smith (Thornton) papers, spoken of by Brown, are now in the Library of Congress. The Department of State, D. C. papers; the Navy Department, Office of Public Buildings and Grounds; the Office

of the Architect of the Capitol; and the Fine Arts Division of the Library of Congress are all repositories of letters or drawings.

Scrap-books, composed of news clippings, at the Washingtoniana division of the District Library, Washington, entitled "Historic Houses," contain much of at least secondary value. *Kalorama* was illustrated in the New York Evening Post, December 5, 1888, The Washington Evening Star, January 12, 1908 and January 18, 1929; *Bellevue* (Dumbarton House) in the Star, May 25, 1912, and with the old portico replaced by the current one in a Star clipping. The Navy Yard was described in the Star, November 27, 1906, and *Duddington in the National Capitol* (1885). For the Van Ness House, there were items in the Washington Post, September 16, 1883, and in Scribner's Magazine, March, 1874, and October, 1883. The old Calvert Mansion at Bladensburg is illustrated in an item from an unknown source, and is commented on in the Royal Blue, the Times, May 10, 1896, the Star, October 17, 1909 and June 10, 1911, the Post, August 14, 1892, and The House Beautiful, April, 1903, usually with illustrations. *Brentwood* was illustrated in the Herald, July 25, 1911, with comment; the doorways at the Decatur and Van Ness houses in the Star, October 6, 1907; *Brentwood* again in the Star, December 12, 1915, and September 22, 1918, and the Van Ness mansion in unnamed clippings June 28, 1903, and March, 1899. Then there are the various articles by F. C. Latrobe in the Baltimore *Sun* of recent date (38, 38a, 38b). Finally there are the miscellaneous items: J. H. B. Latrobe's recollections of steamboat origins (40, 41); Rembrandt Peale's Reminiscences (44), and B. Fernow, Washington's Military Family, illustrated by a portrait of General Washington attributed to Latrobe (45).

Our sketch of Latrobe's career will start with the Ackermann article, said by the editor to have been based on a letter recently received from the subject. The obituary notice in the New Orleans papers, September 4, 1820, is quoted: ". . . distinguished artist, who is well known from his works by nearly all

the Atlantic states; he died on the 3rd of September 1820." His American career is sketched as starting with his intention in 1795 to visit his maternal uncle, Colonel Antes, on the Susquehanna, the winds causing his ship to dock at Norfolk rather than Philadelphia. Meeting Colonel Bushrod Washington, and later General Washington, whom he visited at Mount Vernon, he stayed for a time in Virginia. After consultation concerning the navigation of the James River, he became the engineer of the state. Reaching Philadelphia in due time, he built a bank there, supplied the city with water, constructed works of defense and light-houses on the coast, and became the city engineer. He married the daughter of Isaac Hazelhurst. Moving to Washington as Surveyor of Public Works, he built the House of Representatives. But a month before his death, he had sent the editor a list of his works with a view to the publication of his designs. They included the Cathedral, Baltimore, the Exchange, Baltimore, the Bank of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, the Engine House (Water Works), Philadelphia, the Capitol, Washington, and the Bank of the United States, Philadelphia, said to have been built by a pupil from Latrobe's designs, with alterations to the principal room. The letter also told of how in 1811 his eldest son had gone to New Orleans at seventeen to take charge of the installation of the new water system, had died, leaving the monopoly in a precarious state, and how Latrobe had moved there with his family. The article concludes with a summary of Latrobe's early career in England. He was the son of Rev. Benjamin LaTrobe, of noble Protestant lineage of Languedoc, the superintendent of the United Brethren in England. He was born in 1762, educated at Fulneck, near Leeds, and had entered college at sixteen at Nisky, in Saxony, where he showed an early interest in drawing and architecture. In 1785 he was appointed to a clerkship in the Stamp Office, London, but shortly entered the office of an eminent London architect, followed by a brief period in another professional office. A mansion near Grimstead (*Hammerwood Lodge*), Sussex, for Mr. Sperling, now owned by Mr. Dorrien

Magens, was his first important commission, followed by a house for Mr. Trayton Fuller, at Ashdown Park. He married the daughter of Rev. Mr. Sellon, rector of St. James', Clerkenwell, who bore him a son and daughter, and died during her third confinement.

For supplementary facts, we will turn to his son's biography in the *Journal.* He was the youngest son of Rev. Benjamin Latrobe and Ann Margaret Nutis, the former an English clergyman of the Moravian faith, the latter the daughter of a resident of Pennsylvania. The family name was Boneval, the Latrobes belonging to a younger branch who had emigrated from France to England during the Huguenot persecution. Latrobe's mother, also of Moravian stock, was sent to a United Brethren school in Germany, met her future husband there, and married him in 1755. They had three sons. After schooling in Yorkshire and Saxony, Latrobe spent nearly three years at the University of Leipzig. In 1785 he spent some months in European travel. Meeting some university friends, Prussian and English, he decided to join them in a campaign, as subaltern in a company of Hussars. Two hard-fought skirmishes and a severe wound cooled his ardor, and he resigned to continue his travels, studying architecture, we are told, as he went. He returned to England in the latter part of 1786 during his father's last illness. For the next several years he stayed in London with his elder brother, studying everything that came his way, and mingling in distinguished society. Deciding on engineering and architecture for his profession, he had John Smeaton as his adviser and close friend. In 1787 or 1788 he entered the office of Mr. Cockerell, considered one of the best architects in London, and could soon draw with facility and prepare estimates. The Surveyorship of the Public Offices, London, followed. He married Lydia Sellon in 1790. When his wife died in 1793, her loss, as well as his liberal political ideas and his unseen relatives in Pennsylvania, led him to migrate to America. Declining the Surveyorship of the Crown, with its £1000 salary, he left, November 25, 1795, for the new world. He reached Norfolk

March 20, 1796. After several months here, he moved to Richmond, where he stayed until November, 1798, when he moved to Philadelphia. In the preceding March he had visited Philadelphia, had met the President of the Bank of Pennsylvania, and quite informally had sketched his ideas for the proposed bank structure, only to receive the commission in due course. This success is considered the more noteworthy as his library had been seized at sea by a French privateer, and he was without a work of reference for several years. His reputation established, he engaged in numerous engineering projects, including the Philadelphia Water Works and the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal. In 1803 he became Surveyor of Public Buildings of the United States, eventually moving to Washington (1807), after the C. and D. Canal had been temporarily abandoned. His work at the Navy Yard is referred to, his designing of the "American Order" in the Capitol, his work on the Washington City Canal, and the New Orleans Water Works. Steamboat ventures in Pittsburgh took him there for a time, after his resignation at Washington, but failing financially, he returned to Washington in 1815, to rebuild the Capitol burned by the British. Henry S. Latrobe's death followed in 1817. Early in 1818 he removed to Baltimore, where the Cathedral and Exchange were in progress. Visiting New Orleans in 1819-20, he returned to Baltimore for his family and after successfully withstanding the fever for a season and thinking himself immune, he succumbed in the fall of 1820.

The text of the *Journal* need not detain us here. The discussion of a cultured gentleman's adventures in a world where culture was just finding itself, illustrated by a clever pen and ready wit, is highly entertaining. The visit to Mount Vernon is a high spot; the outline of an educational program for a republic, an inevitable accompaniment.

The data Kimball has gathered for his D. A. B. sketch contains little additional in the way of biographical detail. The date of birth is given as May 1, 1764. Latrobe studied architecture under Samuel Pepys Cockerell, the pioneer of the Greek revival in England; engineering under John Smeaton, the

builder of the Eddystone lighthouse—thus the delicate reticence of Ackermann is rent asunder. Additional activities in England mentioned are the investigation of the scouring works in Lincolnshire and Cambridgeshire for Smeaton, buildings at Frimley, Surrey, and the superintendence of a canal in Surrey. Arrived in America, not without fortune, we are told, he busies himself for a time with informal designs for friends, is consulted on navigation improvements of the Appomattox and James Rivers, and the treatment of the Dismal Swamp. Obtaining the commission for the Richmond Penitentiary, he moves there in 1797, where he completes the State Capitol, and supplies the design for the rebuilding of *Greenspring,* near Williamsburg, with an arcade and portico. In Philadelphia he is consulted on the navigation of the Susquehanna, builds *Sedgley,* strangely enough in a diluted Gothic, designs an unbuilt house for Robert Liston, the Burd House at Chestnut and Ninth Streets, a Military Academy at the request of the Secretary of War, and makes drawings for a dry-dock at Washington for President Jefferson. In 1803 he receives, as seen above, the surveyorship in Washington, starting at once with the completion of the House wing of the Capitol. In 1807 he is helping to complete and landscape the White House, and is being consulted about the Washington City Canal. Designs for navy yards at New York and at Washington, for the Navy Department, date from 1804, and by 1810 he is remodeling the Patent Office. In 1812 come plans for the Marine Hospital, Washington. Between 1804 and 1818 he is a consultant in regard to the Cathedral at Baltimore. In 1804 he builds West College, Dickinson College; in 1805, he designs the first building of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia; in 1806, he adapts the President's House in Philadelphia to the uses of the University of Pennsylvania, and prepares plans for his own Episcopal Church in Philadelphia. In 1807 he designs in the Gothic style the Bank of Philadelphia (built by Mills), and the Waln House, Philadelphia; in 1809, the Markoe House, Philadelphia, and the portico for *Bellevue,* Georgetown, and, at uncertain dates, work at Brentwood, Vir-

ginia, and Riverdale, Virginia. (It is believed these last two items are in error.) From 1799 on, he is active, as seen above, with the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal. He is consulted by Aaron Burr and others on various canal projects. He joins Robert Fulton, his son-in-law, Nicholas Roosevelt, and Robert Livingston in an unfortunate venture to operate steamboats on the Mississippi, building the *Buffalo*, and moving to Pittsburgh in 1813 for that purpose. He designs *Belvedere* for J. B. Church in the Upper Genesee Valley, and *Ashland* for Henry Clay at Lexington, Kentucky, while plans are also extant for the Robertson House, Pittsburgh, Governor Taylor's house, Newport, Kentucky, Governor Cass's house in Michigan, and the Baum house, Cincinnati. In 1815 he is back in Washington rebuilding the Capitol, resigning again in 1817. Washington works include (Kimball places them all in this second period): St. John's Church, the Van Ness House, and the Decatur House; also the Tower of Christ Church, Alexandria (questioned by F. C. Latrobe), and the Courthouse, Hagerstown, Maryland. He advises Jefferson in regard to the University of Virginia. He moves to Baltimore, declaring bankruptcy, in 1818. He, in association with Maximillian Godefroy, builds the Exchange, Baltimore, and he designs the second Bank of the United States (built by Strickland) in Philadelphia. From 1809 he had been made consultant in regard to a new water supply system for New Orleans, leading to his removal there and death of yellow fever on September 3, 1820. The tower of the cathedral at New Orleans is said to be his, and in the Cabildo a painting of his water works is preserved.

Our next section will list his works as far as identified, with comment only when not already mentioned:

England:

Hammerwood Lodge, East Grimstead, Sussex.
Fuller House, Ashdown Park.
Basington Canal, Surrey.
Engineering projects at Maldon and Rye (mentioned in his *Opinion* concerning the navigation of the Potomac).

Philadelphia:

Bank of Pennsylvania.
Water Works.
Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts.
President's House (alterations).
P. E. Church.
Chestnut Street Theatre.
Waln House.
Markoe House.
Sedgley.
Burd House.
Liston House (design).
Sansom Row.
Bank of Philadelphia (built by Mills).
Bank of United States (built by Strickland).
Schuylkill Bridge (the somewhat dubious authority for this work is the oblique reference in Latrobe, *Anniversary Oration*).

Pittsburgh:

Steamship *Buffalo.*
Robertson House (plans).
Arsenal.
Private houses (referred to in the Journal).

Pennsylvania:

Delaware and Schuylkill Canal.
Susquehanna (navigation).
Delaware and Chesapeake Canal.
West College, Dickinson College, Carlisle.

Washington:

Decatur House.
Van Ness House.
St. John's Church.
Duddington.
Patent Office (alterations).
Marine Hospital.
Dry-dock (design).
Capitol.
White House (porticos).
Bellevue (Dumbarton House).
Brentwood.
Kalorama (lodges).
Navy Yard.
Washington City Canal.

Virginia:

Christ Church, Alexandria (tower).
Private houses in Richmond, Norfolk, Petersburg (referred to in the *Journal*).
Fortifications, Norfolk.
University of Virginia (consultant).
Capitol, Richmond (completed).
Greenspring (portico and arcade).
Dismal Swamp Canal (referred to in J. H. B. Latrobe's letter in the American Architect, Vol. I, 1876).
The James-Appomattox Canal.
Penitentiary, Richmond (Christian, (55), gives a distant view of the building with buttresses and a cupola. Said to have marked an advance in penology through the use of individual cells).

Maryland:

Exchange, Baltimore (with Maximillian Godefroy).
Cathedral, Baltimore.
Harper House, Baltimore (authenticated by F. C. Latrobe).
Swann House (mentioned as traditionally given to Latrobe in Stockett, *Baltimore*, Baltimore, 1928, but questioned by F. C. Latrobe).
Calvert Mansion, Riverdale, portico (the columns were cut for the U. S. Capitol, but when found too short, were purchased for the present use, Washington Times, May 10, 1896).
Court-House, Hagerstown.

New York:

Erie Canal (referred to by Kimball in his Michigan Technic article).
Belvedere, Upper Genesee Valley.

Kentucky:

Governor Taylor's House, Newport, Kentucky (plans).
Ashland, Lexington, Kentucky.

Michigan:

Governor Cass's house (plans).

Ohio:

Baum House, Cincinnati (referred to by Glenn Brown, but questioned by Kimball).

Connecticut:

Burr House, Fairfield (referred to by Major, *The Greek Revival*).

New Jersey:

Nassau Hall, Princeton (the cupola is credited to Latrobe. Cf. *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, December 1, 1934).

Louisiana:

Water Works, New Orleans.
Cathedral, New Orleans (tower).
Private houses, grills, (attributed by Tallmadge on the basis of style).

The Tripoli Monument was erected by Latrobe in the Navy Yard, Washington, and was later moved to the plaza before the Capitol, and then to the Naval Academy Grounds, Annapolis. The "American Order" capitals in the Capitol were designed by Latrobe, and also the figure of *History in the Car of Time*, over the entrance of the old House, now Statuary Hall (19). Poems by Latrobe are spoken of as having been written in his son's Commonplace Book. He also composed an epilogue for a presentation of Hannah More's play, *Joseph and His Brethren.* In Semmes' biography there is a sketch of Thomas Jefferson by Latrobe. Equally miscellaneous are the designs for a set of circus buildings at Pittsburgh mentioned by Semmes, the platform for the inauguration of President Monroe, the coach used when the family drove from Washington to Pittsburgh in 1813, the funeral monuments for the wives of W. C. Claiborne, and the over-elaborate (as events proved) shipyards at Pittsburgh. The portrait of Washington has already been mentioned. Numerous portraits, water-colors, sketches, and scientific drawings are given in the *Journal.* Scharf and Westcott, in their History of Philadelphia (52), speak of landscape drawings by Latrobe exhibited in 1812, including *View of the River Schuylkill*, and *View of the Seat of Miers Fisher.*

A portrait of Latrobe is referred to as having been painted by his son, John H. B. Latrobe; another from an unstated source is given by Glenn Brown, and an oil by C. W. Peale, owned by F. C. Latrobe, is reproduced by Fairman.

Letters by Latrobe are numerous. Those to Jefferson concern the Capitol, the White House, the University of Virginia, and the architect's presentation of the model of his maize capitol; those to Bishop Carroll concern the Baltimore cathedral; one to William Jones, the Secretary of the Navy, retails the difficulties of an artist in government employ (given in the appendix of Dunlap); one to Signor Mazzei regards Franzoni and Andrei as sculptors for the Capitol; one to Thomas More, Maryland, concerns the current prejudice against European engineers; one to his wife concerns the competition for the Bank of the United States; and one to David Este, Cincinnati, regards his bankruptcy. Epistolary references in support of attributions of individual houses are gathered by Kimball in the appendix to *Domestic Architecture*, often from unpublished letters, owned by F. C. Latrobe. Latrobe's letters to his superintendent in Washington, John Lenthall, are in the Library of Congress; Semmes gives letters by Latrobe to his wife as she visits in Philadelphia, to Fulton and Roosevelt regarding the steamboat venture, and to his children from New Orleans; Fairman records letters to Franzoni and to Andrei, C. W. Peale, and Trumbull regarding the decoration of the Capitol. In course of time, Madison replaces Jefferson as the President addressed, and Thomas Monroe becomes Superintendent of Buildings. Latrobe's final letter of resignation, November 20, 1817, is given in the *Journal*. Occasional letters, to Randolph in the Booklovers' Magazine article, to the masons and bricklayers of the Capitol, given in Fairman, to President Washington after his Mount Vernon visit, given in Dunlap, to his brother after the fire at Havre de Grace, given in Swepson Earle (47), and to General Harper regarding his buildings at Baltimore are also of interest. In the New York Public Library are various letters by Latrobe, mostly to Mrs. Madison, and also the dedicatory hymn for St. John's Church, Washington, December 27, 1816.

Latrobe drawings in public hands are widely distributed. The plans of the White House are at Harvard University and the Library of Congress; the arcade and portico for *Greenspring*

is in the Virginia Historical Society; the map of the Susquehanna is in the Maryland Historical Society, as also the Baltimore Exchange and section drawings for the Orders of the House; the East Front of the Capitol as projected was published by Ackermann, London; Centre House, Philadelphia, is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Dry-dock, Washington, in the Library of Congress; the Bank of the United States, Philadelphia, in the Office of the Supervising Architect of the Treasury, Washington, and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; The Book of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, in the Maryland Historical Society, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Library of Congress, and the possession of F. C. Latrobe; the Cathedral, Baltimore, in the possession of F. C. Latrobe, as also the Markoe House, the Liston House, cornice details, and a sketch of the Robert Morris House, Philadelphia; the Commandant's Quarters, Pittsburgh Arsenal, in the Library of Congress; a Survey Plot, C. and D. Canal, in the Office of Walter Hall, President, Salem, New Jersey; a note-book for the year 1799 (duplicate drawings compiled for Latrobe's brother) in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, as also a scheme for the navigation of the Delaware. Drawings for a military academy and the Capitol are in the Library of Congress, and a water-color of St. John's Church is owned by Mr. Loring, Washington.

For Latrobe's personality, that of the cultivated man of affairs, of charm, of self-assurance, we find place for quotations from only two autobiographical sources: his oration to the Society of Artists, and his comments on his taste in architecture. (He was a member of the American Philosophical Society, of the Academy of Arts, and a vice-president of the Society of Artists of the United States.) In eloquent language, with balanced periods, the anniversary orator says that in America it is still necessary to point out that art aids *morals* and *liberty*. Many still think art unrepublican. But Greece, early Rome, and Florence show the contrary. Philadelphia may become the Athens of the West. Outgrowing the current fashion to imitate the Diocletian or Louis XIV style in architecture, a beginning

has been made. The Bank of the United States (first) had a marble front, although copying an "indifferent" European model, but one year later came the Bank of Pennsylvania, an effort to "produce a pure specimen of Grecian simplicity in design, and Grecian permanence in execution." As in the days when independence was achieved, let the motto be, "united we stand, divided we fall." In his letter to President Jefferson, Philadelphia, May 21, 1807, he reveals his taste in architecture. "My *principles* of good taste are rigid in Grecian architecture. I am a bigoted Greek in the condemnation of the Roman architecture of Baalbeck, Palmyra, Spaletro, and of all the buildings erected subsequent to Hadrian's reign. The immense size, the bold plan and arrangement of the buildings of the Romans down almost to Constantine's arch, plundered from the triumphal arches of former emperors, I admire, however with enthusiasm, but think their decorations absurd beyond tolerance from the reign of Severus downward. Whenever, therefore, the Grecian style can be copied without impropriety, I love to be a mere, I would say a *slavish*, copyist, but the forms and the distribution of the Greek and Roman buildings which remain are in general inapplicable to the objects and uses of our public buildings."

Documents regarding Latrobe's engineering projects are abundant. We may mention the letter by Latrobe to John Miller, December 29, 1798, regarding the installation of a new water system in Philadelphia (42); An Answer to the Joint Committee of the Select and Common Councils of Philadelphia, March 2, 1799, also regarding the water supply for Philadelphia; A Report of the Committee Appointed by the Common Council to Inquire into the State of the Water Works, Philadelphia, 1802; Report of the Watering Committee, November 12, 1818; and Notes upon the Water Works of Philadelphia, 1801 to 1815, Samuel Graff, Jr., (n. d.). There are also the anonymous *Remarks*, bound with the Address of the Committee of the Delaware and Schuylkill Canal Company to the Committees of the Senate and House of Representatives on a memorial of the said Company, Philadelphia, 1799, and a collection of pamphlets relative to the C. and D. Canal in the possession of the

Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The Private Letter by Latrobe of 1806 (43), in the midst of the Capitol controversy, and data in the *Journal* and in the J. H. B. Latrobe items tell the story from Latrobe's point of view, as also the Report of 1804 by Latrobe to the President. The *American Coper Mines*, by Latrobe, 1800 (39), regards the incorporation of a mine and metal company sought by Nicholas I. Roosevelt. An *Opinion* by Latrobe on the removal of obstructions in the Potomac to Georgetown, 1812, is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

More personal letters available are as follows: In the Historical Society of Pennsylvania is one to Governor Wood of Virginia, Richmond, March 3, 1798, accepting the direction of the construction of the Penitentiary, and requesting leave to visit in Philadelphia; the printed notice of his bankruptcy, dated December 19, 1817, with a note appended by Latrobe giving William Whann of the Bank of Columbia assurance of the re-payment of the amount due, and the letter to Mr. James Eakin, Washington, his cousin, dated Philadelphia, April 13, 1801,

"My dear Cousin

Abbot at the outset is ominous. But this is my last sheet of letter paper, and I had saved it on purpose to show you my respect, and to offer you my thanks for the very obliging manner in which you have undertaken my little application. Mr. Newman, who will deliver you this, has laid me under great obligations by his very polite advice and exertion on the subject of my claim. I have given him a letter to Colonel McHenry, and I hope you will meet with no difficulties—All I could do in return was to show him my works, and I dare to say that my vanity was on that occasion as much liable to be expected, as my civility might be admired; and perhaps I am, when making my exhibition, often compared to those indiscreet mothers, who, in order to be very civil, cram their slobbering brats down your throats. But indeed I am highly obliged to Mr. Newman, and hope he will remember that my door and my hand are always open to receive him.

"As to marriages, deaths, bankruptcies, I can say but little in the way of news. Mr. Cooper's affair with Miss Abby Willing is off. Mrs. Bingham, as the last resource of life, goes

this day on board a Vessel intended to carry her to Lisbon. Her husband and daughter, and Abby Willing accompany her and she is scarcely expected to live a week her leaden coffin is part of the cargo. What a melancholy set!

"God bless you. I have only time to assure you of mine and Mrs. Latrobe's undiminished affection.

"Believe me very truly,

Yrs.

B. Henry Latrobe."

In the same repository is a letter to John A. McAllester from John H. B. Latrobe, June 22, 1867, regarding the Bank of the United States, a letter by Latrobe to Robert Gilmour, Governor of the Susquehanna Company, Philadelphia, January 19, 1802, with a copy of a letter estimating expenses of completing the work above the Maryland line, and one to Commodore David Porter, U. S. A., Washington, July 31, 1815, as follows:

"Dear Sir

A few days ago, I left with the Secretary of the Commissioner's of the Navy at your office a letter to you, stating that if you wished the names of the Officers and the other inscriptions engraved on the Tripolitan Monument, it might now be done by skillful hands, and very conveniently, because our supply of stone not being arrived, I can spare the stone cutter whom I should employ,—and whom I might, towards winter, want for the Capitol.—I presume the letter did not reach you, and therefore beg leave to repeat its object, as I shall on wednesday leave the city for 6 or 7 days, and the Man is anxious to go to work while the days are long and the weather warm.

"The last time I had the pleasure to see you, and offered my further services in completing the Monument, I understood you to say that this was the only part of the work in which they could be useful.—Otherwise, I should believe that you had considered my offer as officious,—even after the trouble and vexation which I most cheerfully suffered in order to get the work as far advanced as it now appears, and from which I claim no merit whatever, but that of having felt for the brave men to whom it is dedicated, and for zeal for your fame, the interest of a good citizen.

"Respectfully yrs.

B. H. Latrobe."

Architectural authorities are often mentioned by Latrobe. Most frequently come Stuart and Revett, *Antiquities of Athens*, Sir William Chambers, and Desgodetz. Chambers' book is presumably the *Treatise on the Decorative Art of Civil Architecture*, and the Desgodetz is undoubtedly, *Les Edifices Antiques de Rome*. Chambers is spoken of in a letter to Lenthall, August 12, 1805, as an obvious reference for details, and Desgodetz is referred to in the letter to Jefferson quoted above.

We now comment on the works of Latrobe with especial reference to their classical features. The first will be the Center Square Water Works in Philadelphia (32). The base is composed of a rectangular mass, broken in the center by two Doric columns between antae; the rear wall has semi-circular headed doors with rectangular panels above, and the walls to either side of the vestibule are marked by semi-circular windows and embracing arches, similar fenestration being continued down the sides. Mouldings and a balustrade finish this story. From the center rises rather clumsily a cylindrical mass with rectangular windows, a panelled attic, and a stepped dome, culminating in an opening for the outlet of smoke. The design seems to show a rather awkward functionalism based on classical form. Comparisons should be made with Palladio's *Villa Rotonda* at Vicenza (48), and the Tower of the Winds, Athens (Stuart and Revett, Plate 9).

The Bank of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia (30) had a hexastyle Ionic colonnade extended across the front and back, reached by a flight of steps. A single door broke the walls with a longitudinal panel recessed above. A square mass backed the pediment. Above two steps which disguised the shallow dome came the cupola. The flanks were marked by slightly projecting centers, the base of the dome and the cupola. It and the side bays were marked by semi-circular window schemes for the principal floor, and by rectangular openings above and below. Antae at the corners and panels and balustrade terminals added refinement. Prototypes would be the temple on the Ilissos, Athens (49, plate 5), or the east porch of the Erechtheum simplified—the columns here are unfluted, there are no anthemion bands below the volutes, etc. (49, plate 33).

The Bank of the United States, Philadelphia (31), now the Custom House, is the second structure of that institution and is reminiscent of the Parthenon. It is amphiprostyle, Doric, and raised on a flight of steps. There is but a single colonnade at the ends. We recall that Strickland built the structure, modifying the central room as conceived by Latrobe. A central dome on pendentives was replaced by a barrel vault. In both designs barrel vaults were used to flank the central feature and a saucer dome was placed over the Stockholders' Room. These superficial features are hidden by the gable roof. An early account (1819) quoted by Kimball calls the building Doric, "hypaethral," octastyle, and prostyle, reminiscent of the Parthenon, though lacking the flank columns, the pronaos, and the sculpture. The twelve Ionic columns of the central room were proportioned on those of the Temple of Athena Polias at Priene.

Private houses in Philadelphia may start with the *Sedgley* design, Gothic by way of exception (17d). Square towers mark the corners with pointed openings, and colonnades run between, surmounted by a rectangular second story. A semi-circular bay with a projected portico features the front. The second story has flat, triple windows; dormers open from a steep roof, and a corbelled moulding hangs from the eaves. A classicist is trying hard to be English and Gothic. The Markoe House is known by the plan and elevation sketched by Latrobe (8), showing a severe simplicity. The front is broken only by a polygonal projection. On the first story triple windows reach to the floor. Balanced rooms with curved elements and an oval stair-well feature the plan. The Burd House (8) is more alluring. Of brick, it well adapts the classic style to city architecture. The first two stories and the center of the third have semi-circular headed openings, the relieving arches of the first and second floors being filled now with a Palladian window, or a gracious fan-lit door, and now with rectangular windows. A splay of steps extends welcome. The extensions to either side of the first story are practical and well-articulated. The Chestnut Street Theatre (14) may be noticed in passing. Whether Latrobe designed the early nineteenth century structure or

merely the wings is uncertain. In any case, a pediment rose above an upper story dominated by a Palladian window, and a first floor was protected by a shed roof. Westcott (53) speaks of the semi-circular sculptured panels from the Robert Morris House which were used to decorate the wings of the lower story over the window heads. The President's House which Latrobe adapted to the purposes of the University of Pennsylvania is given in Kimball (8). It is distinctly late colonial in its pilastered front, with Adam adornment, and need not detain us. And also of only casual interest is the row of houses Latrobe designed in Philadelphia for William Sansom, known from a drawing in the Ridgeway Library, Philadelphia (8). Regimentation is here carried rather far. Three stories, a basement, and an attic with dormers, are given to each house. A rectangular door with a flight of steps below and a fan above, string-courses, and a moulding of dentils at the roof line, are all that are needed or given.

In Baltimore the chief work is the Cathedral (33, 34). The Ionic portico, added in the seventies, presumably from Latrobe's design, is reminiscent of the East Portico of the Erechtheum. The building has a cruciform plan with an eastern apse and rises on an octagonal drum at the crossing to a Roman dome. Towers ending in cupolas flank the front portico, while the transepts end in a rectangular mass opened only by semi-circular headed elements, continued in the windows down the sides. Above the windows plain longitudinal panels admirably relate spaces. The Exchange in Baltimore, long the Post Office, by Latrobe and Godefroy, is illustrated in Jackson (17d) from the drawing in the Maryland Historical Society. The building was H-shaped, and the cross-bar was dominated by a polygonal drum and dome. Strongly accented moulding, semi-circular headed doors and windows in the two central stories, double flights of steps to the entrances and sloping roofs are characteristics of a not-inspired design. Of the private houses in Baltimore attributed to Latrobe, the Swann House on Franklin Street with its tetrastyle portico, demolished to make way for the new Pratt Library, is said by F. C. Latrobe

not to be certainly attributed. A photograph of it is preserved at the Municipal Museum. The Harper House on Cathedral Street, which met the same fate, *is* authenticated. A rusticated stone base had two rectangular windows and a severe Doric portico of two columns reached by two steps. An architrave and cornice formed the entablature. The three windows of the second story were tall rectangles, with projecting cornices on corbels and iron grills. The three windows of the third story were severely plain, except for a narrow moulding. The top of the house was paneled just below the slightly projecting cornice, itself of refined profile. A photograph in the possession of Mr. L. H. Fowler, Baltimore, was used by the present investigator. The master designer was clearly at work here. The dairy for the Harper country house at (present) Roland Park (35) is established as Latrobe's by letters owned by Mr. F. C. Latrobe. For example, Latrobe wrote from Washington to General Harper at Baltimore, May 1, 1812:

"I send you a sketch of your barn, and your houses will follow. You will observe that so far from making alterations in the arrangement of the barn, which I am sure I couldn't improve, I propose it to be just what it is intended to be; making only the roof very much lower and the walls higher than usual. There is no doubt but that the low roof will shock your carpenters, but if you wish the thing to be anything but a Dutch barn, you must over-rule their prejudices, and if they consent to the thing, I will send you exact drawings of the framing."

On May 11, not having received General Harper's acknowledgment of the receipt of his sketches, Latrobe wrote that a mutual acquaintance had "promised to attend to them from Davis's Tavern" (Georgetown). Finally, on May 13, he writes, "Being at Davis's Tavern, today, I made inquiry for your roll of drawings and found it in the Bar where it had been left. I now have taken care that it shall certainly go on, and if you will send to Barney's and Gadsby's (Baltimore) you will find it in one or the other tavern." The building reconstructed at the Museum makes a charming tetrastyle Ionic Treasury. Only a single opening marks the front hall. A refined entablature,

the frieze with a curved profile, and a pediment surrounded with dentils complete the design. The building originally faced west, and the second story opened to the south; the first story was used as a spring house and the second, presumably, as an office. The second story was reached by a door in the center of the rear pediment, made possible by the rapid slope of the ground. The brick floor was several steps below the entrance level. The walls were of field stone, the corners and probably the window-frames of brick. The wood-work was of white pine, including the shingles. The original shingles were still in place when the structure was moved, but the original door was gone. Old, contemporary brick was used in the restoration, directed by Mr. L. H. Fowler.

In Washington the contribution of Latrobe to the White House consists of the north and south porticos (10, 37c). Jefferson devised the colonnades to the executive offices, and in collaboration with Latrobe, a rectangular portico on the north and a semi-circular one on the south, both colossal and Ionic, the former rising to a pediment, the latter to a cornice and balustrade, and resting on a basement arcade. For the Capitol (18, 19, 26), Latrobe's work is best seen in the old legislative chambers, now Statuary Hall and, until recently, the Supreme Court. For the House, before the 1814 fire, he devised a parallelogram with semi-circular ends. An interesting discussion arose between Jefferson and Latrobe, the latter urging the order of the Tower of the Winds, Athens (49, plate 9) or of the Theatre of Marcellus, Rome, the former that of the Lysicrates Monument, Athens. Again Latrobe wanted a lantern for central lighting, while Jefferson preferred diffused lighting by an arched ceiling with plate glass panels. The President cast the deciding vote. After the 1814 fire the House chamber was made semi-circular and raised to the second floor level. A Corinthian colonnade stretched behind the Speaker's chair. The ceiling was a section of a hemispherical dome, richly coffered. A semi-circular Corinthian colonnade surrounded the chamber with a gallery supported about two-thirds the way up. The Senate chamber was reached through a vestibule featured

by an Ionic colonnade and with a dome on pendentives above. The chamber was treated with pilasters around the semi-circle, with Ionic columns and piers on the straight side, back of the Vice-President's chair. Again a hemisphere cut short by a barrel vault domed the chamber. The center of the Capitol was built by Bullfinch, but the east front is essentially as designed by Latrobe, the flight of steps leading to a hypostyle vestibule and a rotunda, ribboned with pilasters. In the examples of the "American Order" devised by Latrobe, the maize column in the vestibule of what was the Law Library of the Supreme Court was marked by corn leaves at the bottom of the shaft, a fluted shaft, a twisted moulding, and an ovolo covered by ears of corn, with the ripened grain showing above. The tobacco capitals are on the peristylar columns of the small rotunda near the Supreme Court, with the flowers of the plant rising above the double range of leaves. (Later variations of the Corinthian order occur in Walter's work; for example the cotton-blossom capitals.)

The Decatur House, on Lafayette Square (51), now owned by Mr. Truxton Beale, is of brick, broken only by rectangular windows, with lintels and end blocks above, and narrow sills, also of stone, below. The second story windows extend to the floor and are guarded by delicate grills. The door and windows to either side of the ground floor have been given heavy "Victorian" brown-stone frames. A projecting flat roof with its shadow finishes the design. The entrance hall, is covered by segmental vaults, with a square bay and pendentives in the center, a short barrel vault in front and a great niche to the rear. The rooms are cubical.

The Van Ness House (27, v. 22; 8) was on the site of the present Pan-American Building. The plan shows a central hall leading to a salon, and balanced by stairs, and then by a den and a pantry. Back of the den was the library; back of the pantry, the dining-room—all rectangles. The front elevation showed a basement, main story, upper story, and a steep attic, divided by string-courses and terminated by tall chimneys. A Doric portico with pediment dominated. The front door had

side lights, but no fan. The garden front was more gracious. The windows beside the centre portico had an embracing arch and were triple, with pilasters between, and an architrave and cornice above. The portico was supported on a Doric colonnade leading to the basement. The lodge, the sole survivor, and now removed to the rear of the lot, had a great recessed, semi-circular headed entrance, while a pediment and dentils surrounding the eaves added classical touches. The Van Ness mausoleum, suggestive of the Temple at Tivoli, is sometimes given to Latrobe, but is more probably the work of Hatfield.

St. John's Church on Lafayette Square, before the present portico and tower were built, and extensions made, had a Greek cross plan with a shallow dome over the crossing (51). A square drum on the outside leads to a cupola. Each arm ends in a pedimented façade. The doors and windows are rectangular, the center in each façade emphasized with a semi-circular lunette.

Dumbarton in Georgetown, restored by Horace Peaslee, formerly called *Bellevue* (8) (8a), now the national headquarters of the Colonial Dames, has a portico re-built as far as possible in the style of Latrobe's. It is Doric, tetrastyle, with a horizontal architrave, cornice, and balustrade. The grills restored to the second story windows were suggested in part by those on the Decatur House.

Brentwood, formerly near Gallaudet College, in northeast Washington (27, vol. 2) is a typical Latrobe design. The first story has a central door and flanking windows, with a Doric tetrastyle portico and pediment. Two additional windows balance on either side. All openings are rectangular. The second story rises from the center with rectangular windows in front, lunette windows on the side. Again from the center rises a small, square drum, and a low polygonal cupola. A refined detail is a screen-like crest to either side of the entablature of the portico, its justification being that the proportions call for it. Steps lead to the portico. The central hall is circular and to further show the intellectualization of this formal space composition, there are square niches on the diagonal axes of the

rotunda. Measured drawings are given by Cunningham and Younger (54, plates 12 to 25).

Kalorama in northwest Washington had at least its lodge designed by Latrobe (27, vol. 13). A tetrastyle Doric temple with a single, unmoulded entrance to break the cella wall was his conception. The frieze is unbroken by triglyphs or metopes.

Duddington (25) on the site of the older House Office Building showed a greater spread than was usual with Latrobe. The center of the façade, however, had a tetrastyle portico and a salient bay ending in a pediment against a steep roof.

The design for the covered dry-dock at the Washington Navy Yard (37) provided a long range of semi-circular headed openings framed with rectangular pilasters and a simple entablature. The ends were projecting piers with recesses repeating the forms of the rest of the design. The center was a projected tetrastyle Doric portico, flanked by piers similar to those at the ends, with a horizontal entablature and a base for an equestrian group. To either end of the portico within the colonnade was a circular niche, and semi-circular niches were placed to either side of the entrance. The project called for a long, rectangular plan with the façade just described duplicated down the long sides. The ends were dominated in the one case by monumental piers supporting sculpture, in the other by an abstract temple design with a great semi-circular opening in the center and tall, semi-circular headed openings to either side, between piers. A pediment rose above, the inner piers terminating their forms against its base. Comparisons with the ship-yard at the Piraeus, Athens, are obvious (56).

For the Capitol at Richmond (10, 11) Latrobe finished the building designed by Jefferson and Clérisseau, using ornament closer to the antique than the Louis XVI forms they had projected. The enframements of the doors and windows will illustrate the changes.

At the University of Virginia we know Jefferson consulted, and followed many of Latrobe's suggestions (10). Pavilions V and III are especially illustrative of Latrobe's influence (11). The former has an Ionic Hexastyle colonnade rising two stories

and terminated with a horizontal Ionic entablature. A gallery porch extends from the second story windows to the colonnade. The latter has the Corinthian order used similarly. Both orders are proportioned on Palladio.

Watermann and Barrows (12) give the drawing made by Latrobe for the rebuilding of *Greenspring*. The historic structure had two stories and an attic with two tiers of dormers. The remodeled design shows the old openings preserved on the main floor, rectangular openings above, and an arcade below. A porch runs the length of the building, with Tuscan supports and a pedimental center.

The first building of Dickinson College at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, is shown in an early volume of the Portfolio (57), where the engraving by B. Tanner from a sketch by A. Breckenridge indicates a sober structure with the central bay projected, and marked by a triple door with fan, and a pediment. The windows of the first floor are set in semi-circular relieving arches. A cupola on a square base is back of the pediment. Three stories and a basement are provided. A. L. Kocher (58) gives a photograph of the main entrance showing the refined detail, the fluted pilasters and architrave and fan. The architraves of the windows on the first floor, with their plaster settings, also help to organize the aging stone and ivy. The pediment has an oriel in its center.

Ashland (14) is characterized by a projecting, three-sided pavilion reached by steps and marked by a semi-circular headed doorway with Doric columns engaged to either side and an entablature above. The windows of the other two sides of the pavilion reach to the floor. This central bay has a Palladian window on the second floor and a pediment above. An iron railing provides a second story porch. Paintings of this house by James Hamilton and by A. B. Durand are known.

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Thomas U. Walter and His Works

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Thomas U. Walter and His Works

I

THE document which may well serve as Exhibit One in recounting the career of Thomas U. Walter is *Genealogical Sketches* (1), which he completed in 1871, and which in manuscript form has been deposited in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. The sections having to do with the architect's grandparents and parents and with the architect himself have been abstracted and are given verbatim. As far as facts go, no discrepancies need be looked for. Interpretations, however, and supplementary details go far toward giving three-dimensions to the lay figure described in the text. But first let Mr. Walter tell his own story.

Frederick Jacob Walter was the first of the paternal ancestry of the family of whom we have any knowledge. He was born in Germany, and embarked for this country, with his parents, in the year 1749. His father and mother both died on the passage, leaving no information whatever respecting themselves, their family, or their ancestry.

It appears that the date of his birth was approximately known, as we find in the archives of the German Lutheran Church of St. Michael, in Fifth above Arch Street, Philadelphia, where he was accustomed to worship, a record stating that he was born in Germany in March, 1743, and that he died on the 15th of October, 1787. The allusion to his *birth,* in this connection, seems to have been incidental, as it does not give the day of the month, and it is found among the records of *deaths*—not of births. Its correctness, as far as it goes, cannot, however, be doubted.

All we know respecting his parents, and his early years, has been derived entirely from his own recollections transmitted to us by tradition.

He remembered that he embarked in Germany in a vessel bound for the United States, with his father and mother, when he was about *six* years old; but he was never able to recall the events of his earlier

childhood. He had, however, a distinct recollection that his parents took with them, when they left Germany, their household effects, and other valuables, intending to make the United States their permanent home, and that they both died at sea of the plague, and were thrown overboard. He remembered that on the arrival of the vessel in Philadelphia, he was put ashore, an infant stranger, without father, or mother, or relative, or friend, to look after him; without means, and without any knowledge of the English language. He brought with him no record to tell anything of his antecedents, or what part of Germany he shipped from. The fact that the German language was his native tongue, corroborates his nationality. He continued to speak that language throughout his life, using it almost exclusively in his religious and domestic relations, notwithstanding he became a good English scholar, long before he reached manhood.

He distinctly remembered that, on landing from the vessel, he was told that everything belonging to his parents had been thrown overboard, to prevent the infection of the plague from spreading in the ship, and that he must be sold to pay his passage. This looks very much as though the master of the vessel had fraudulently, and heartlessly, appropriated to his own use, that which rightfully belonged to that helpless and desolate orphan boy. He was too young to know his rights, or to realize his situation; it is therefore probable that he became the passive victim of unscrupulous cruelty; he was put up at auction, and sold as a "German redemptioner." Who his purchaser was, is unknown. He is said to have often referred to the old "Carpenter mansion," on Chestnut, between Sixth and Seventh streets (afterwards the site of the "Philadelphia Arcade"), as the house in which he passed the years of his boyhood, in the capacity of a house-servant. As soon as he had accomplished the stipulated period of servitude, whatever that may have been, he was indented as an apprentice to a bricklayer. After he had fulfilled his apprenticeship, he commenced the business of a master bricklayer, in partnership with Frederick Graff, the grandfather of the present chief engineer of the Philadelphia Water Works. He lived many years on Fifth below Arch Street, where his son, Joseph S. Walter, the father of the writer, was born. He afterwards purchased ground on the north side of Arch, below Sixth Street, where he built a house, and resided the remainder of his life. At his death he left his widow in comfortable circumstances.

He was twice married. His first wife was Jane McCluskey, a native of Ireland, who is said to have been a lady of great beauty and of stately proportions. They had three sons, Jacob F., Isaac, and Abraham, and a daughter named Margaret, who is reputed to have inherited her mother's personal appearance. His second wife was

Martha Saunders, of Attleborough, Bucks County, Pennsylvania. Their children were: Joseph S. and George; the latter died in childhood.

He took part in the Revolutionary War and was one of a detachment of 1,500 volunteers from Philadelphia who were detailed by Washington to guard the ferries and fording places of the Delaware, between the Falls of Trenton and Bristol. He was connected with the expedition that crossed that river, led by the commander-in-chief, on the fearful night of the 26th of December, 1776, and was conspicuous in the onslaught that took place, on the following morning at Trenton, which resulted in the defeat of the British forces, and the capture of 1,000 prisoners, with a vast amount of ammuniton, arms, and military stores. The victory thus obtained was second, in the importance of its results, to none that was achieved during the war. The coolness and bravery of our ancestor, on that occasion, won for him a reputation as a citizen soldier that went with him through life.

In the laws of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania we find an Act passed on the 13th of June, 1777, requiring all the white male inhabitants of the State, of 18 years old, and upwards, excepting those residing in the three western counties, to take an oath of allegiance and fidelity, before one of the Justices of the Peace, whose duty it was, to furnish a certificate of the same, to each person so qualifying. The original certificate of Frederick J. Walter's submission to that law is still preserved, and is in the possession of Samuel L. Walter. The following is a copy of it:—

"No. 785 I do hereby certify, that Frederick J. Walter, of the City of Philadelphia, bricklayer, hath voluntarily taken and subscribed the oath of allegiance and fidelity, as directed by an act of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, passed on the 13th day of June A. D. 1777. Witness my hand and seal, this 30th day of June 1777."

(Signed) JAMES YOUNG. (Seal)

This document is not referred to as having any historical value, either in the relation it bears to the times in which it was executed, or to the individual to whom it refers. It is introduced in this connection simply because it identifies, in an official form, the existence of an ancestor. The fact that the most we know of him is derived from tradition, gives interest to whatever we find of a documentary character, in which his name occurs, even though the record may, in many respects, be unimportant.

We find some references to him in the archives of St. Michael's German Lutheran Church of Philadelphia, of which the following is a translation.

Under the head of "baptisms":

"Parents; *Frederick Jacob Walter,* and his wife
Child, *Frederick Jacob,* born August 29, 1773
baptized September 29, 1773."
(Witnesses: The Parents)

"Parents: *Frederick J. Walter,* and his wife *Patty.*
Child, *Joseph S.* born May 15, 1782
baptized July 4, 1782"

Under the head of "deaths":

"Died; October 15, 1787, *Frederick J. Walter,*
born in Germany, March 1743."

It will be observed that this record includes but one of his children by his first wife. The remaining *three* were probably christened elsewhere. It is supposed that the mother attended some church where the services were in English, as that language was her native tongue, and that she took her remaining offspring to that altar, wherever it may have been. Her descendants say that she was a Methodist.

In the record of the christening of his son Joseph S. it will be observed that the mother does not appear as a witness. This may be accounted for by the fact that she was a Baptist, which would be very likely to prevent her from being present on the occasion. It is supposed that the rite was performed without her knowledge.

From what has been stated in the foregoing biographical sketch, it is evident that the lineage of Frederick J. Walter cannot now be traced back of himself. We shall probably never know who preceded him in the line of ancestry. His patronymic is a common name in Germany, and has become so throughout the United States. Many who bear that name in this country, outside of his own descendants have, no doubt, come from the same stock, and are of the same blood with us; but we can never know it.

He departed this life, as indicated by the foregoing record, on the 15th day of October, 1787, aged 44 years, and 7 months. His remains were interred in the burial ground attached to the aforesaid Saint Michael's German Lutheran Church, in Fifth north of Arch Street, in the city of Philadelphia. There is a tradition in the family, to the effect, that he lies between the west front of the church, and the yard wall on Fifth Street.

. . . . . .

JOSEPH SAUNDERS WALTER

son of Frederick Jacob Walter, and his wife Martha, was born in Fifth below Arch Street, Philadelphia, May 15, 1782. At an early

ge he was indentured, as an apprentice, to Henry Reihle of Philadelhia, an extensive Tobacconist, with whom he served the full term of is apprenticeship. Not having a fancy for that occupation, he left it hortly after reaching his majority, and turned his attention to the rts of construction, for which he seemed to have been fitted by ature. He learned the art of Bricklaying, as well as that of Stonemasonry with his brother Isaac, and it was not long before he became xtensively engaged in building;—an occupation he pursued successully, for more than 40 years.

He was associated with Daniel Groves in building the Bank of he United States in Philadelphia (now the Custom House) under a pecial partnership limited to that particular structure. He also built he Philadelphia Exchange, and many other important public works.

He served several years in the Common Council of Philadelphia, nd in the Board of Guardians of the Poor, and held many offices of Trust and Honor. He was an attractive speaker, and a ready debater, —a man of large views, and a general intelligence. He was a good German scholar, speaking the language with fluency and grammatical ropriety. As a citizen, he was popular and highly esteemed; and as Christian he was ardent and devoted. The annexed photograph is rom a daguerreotype likeness taken in the year 1846.

He was baptized in the River Schuylkill, by the Rev. Thomas Ustick, April 6, 1802, and united with the Baptist Church in Second elow Arch Street, in which he held the office of Deacon many years. He was an excellent singer, and was early called to lead the singing in he Church, and in the social meetings. He possessed the gift of rayer in an eminent degree, and in matters of faith was "steadfast, mmovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord." He was enial in his manners, entertaining in his conversation, and respected y all who knew him.

He was united in marriage with Deborah Wood, who will be the ubject of the following memoir. They lived happily together more han 30 years, and after surviving her 14 years, he went peacefully to est, November 1, 1855, aged 73 years, 5 months, and 16 days. His emains were interred in Laurel Hill Cemetery.

Deborah Wood

he wife of Joseph S. Walter, was the daughter of Jeremiah and Achsah Wood (formerly Quicksall), she was born October 3, 1781, nd was baptized in the River Schuylkill, by the Rev. Thomas Ustick, n the 6th day of July, 1801, uniting with the Baptist Church on Secnd below Arch Street, Philadelphia. She was a devoted and consistnt Christian, fulfilling her duties to her Church, her family, and the

world with ardor and fidelity. She possessed an intelligent faith, which was never known to waver, throughout her entire Christian life. Her knowledge of the Scriptures astonished all who knew her —she was "a walking concordance." Her memory was prodigious, and her power of analysis indicated a well balanced mind.

She was a loving and painstaking wife, an indulgent and devoted mother, and an intelligent, active, and useful member of the Church of Christ. She departed this life in the assurance of a blessed immortality, July 10, 1841, aged 59 years, 9 months, and 7 days. Her remains were interred in Laurel Hill Cemetery.

Her marriage with Joseph S. Walter was solemnized May 30, 1803, by the Rev. William Rogers, D. D. Their children were seven . . . .

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Thomas U. Walter, son of Joseph S. and Deborah Walter, was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, September 4, 1804. He was named after the Rev. Thomas Ustick, the former pastor of his parents. Early in life he exhibited a taste for Architecture, and a predilection for mathematical studies, which gave promise of future distinction in the arts of design and construction. In the year 1819, his scholastic studies were suspended, and he entered the office of Mr. William Strickland, as a student of Architecture, with whom he remained until he had acquired the art of linear drawing, and a general knowledge of the professional practice of Architecture, after which he resumed his general studies, and subsequently went through an elaborate course of mathematics. The next seven years of his life were devoted to the study of the physical sciences, to the cultivation of the arts of drawing and painting, and to the attainment of a practical knowledge of the several branches of mechanical construction connected with building. During this period he also studied landscape painting, in water colors, with Mason, a celebrated teacher of that art—an art he subsequently made good use of in illustrating his architectural prospectuses.

In the year 1828 he again became a pupil of Mr. Strickland, under whose instructions he remained for two years, devoting himself exclusively to the study of Architecture, the practice of which he commenced in 1830. The following year he designed the "Philadelphia County Prison"—his first important work. His plans were adopted, and the appointment as Architect of the work was conferred upon him October 14, 1831. The entire structure was erected in conformity with his drawings, and under his personal superintendence.

His designs for the "Girard College for Orphans" were adopted by the Select and Common Councils of Philadelphia, in 1833, and the

corner stone of the main building was laid on the 4th of July of the same year. The work was executed throughout, from his designs, and under his supervision, and was brought to a successful completion in the year 1847. As soon as his duties as Architect were accomplished, he was elected one of the Board of Directors of the College, in which capacity he served three years.

He has designed and executed numerous public buildings in his native city, and throughout the country, besides which, he has had an extensive private practice.

The annexed photograph is a likeness of him from a daguerreotype taken by Langenheim, in 1843. It is one of the first good pictures taken in this country by the process of Daguerre.

In the year 1838, he was sent to Europe by the Building Committee of the Girard College for the purpose of examining the practical workings of the various devices and appointments for health, convenience, and comfort, in the principal seats of learning in Great Britain, and on the continent, with a view to derive such information on those subjects as would be likely to prove useful in fitting up and furnishing the buildings of the College. He was likewise charged to investigate building improvements in general.

He left New York, July 7, 1838, in the Packet ship "Pennsylvania," arrived in Liverpool on the 28th of the same month, and proceeded at once to London, as a starting point in his investigations. After visiting and examining the leading institutions of learning in England, he crossed the Strait of Dover to France, where he pursued the objects of his mission. From Paris he went to Italy, stopping at Dijon and Geneva, and crossing the Alps at Mount Simplon. He spent some time in Milan, and also made considerable stay at Florence, after which he went to Rome. From there he crossed over, by post, to Civita Vecchia, where he embarked on a Mediterranean steamer for Marseilles, stopping on the way at Genoa and Leghorn. From Marseilles, he went by post to Paris (no railroad having, up to that time, been constructed on the soil of France!). After further researches in Paris he returned to London, by way of Boulogne-sur-Mer, and from thence to Liverpool. Crossing the Irish Sea, to Dublin, he pursued his journey through Ireland and Scotland, gaining what information he could on the subjects referred to him. He returned to Liverpool, by way of New Castle-upon-Tyne, Dunbar, York, Durham, Manchester and other places of note and interest. He sailed from Liverpool for New York in the Packet ship "Siddons," October 21, 1838, where he arrived on the 22d of November, after a boisterous passage of 32 days. Shortly after his return, he submitted an elaborate report, embracing a full account of the improvements and devices, that were then known, for promoting the cleanliness, comfort

and convenience of institutions of learning. The College buildings were subsequently finished, and fitted up, in conformity with the suggestions contained in his report; thus securing to some 500 orphan boys, their teachers, and their attendants, the advantages of desirable appointments in their College home.

In the year 1843, he was invited by the Government of Venezuela to visit La Guayra and examine the port, with a view to the construction of a *Mole,* or Breakwater, to shelter the quay from the violence of the sea, so as to facilitate the discharge of cargoes. He sailed for this purpose in the month of July, 1843, and arrived at La Guayra after a voyage of 20 days. He proceeded at once to Caracas and conferred with the authorities, after which he returned to La Guayra, surveyed the harbor, took soundings of the roadstead, studied the currents, winds and tides, and the historic phenomena of the Port, after which he made designs, specifications, and estimates for the construction of a Breakwater, which were approved by the Government, and on the 12th of October, 1843, he entered into contract for the execution of the work. On the 24th of the same month he sailed for Philadelphia, where he arrived after a stormy passage of 33 days.

After making the necessary preparations, he left Philadelphia, in the brig "Caracas," February 12, 1844, with some 50 competent workmen, and a cargo of materials, machinery, horses, and other appointments necessary for such an expedition, all of which were safely landed in La Guayra, after a voyage of 16 days. The work was commenced immediately after his arrival, prosecuted rapidly to completion. His eldest son accompanied him, as assistant engineer, but died of the fever of the country, shortly after his arrival. He had serious difficulties to encounter at every step of the enterprise; they were met and successfully overcome. The work was finished and officially accepted by the government on the 24th of October, 1845. He sailed for Philadelphia a few days afterward, and arrived November 20, 1845, having been absent from home nearly two years.

In the year 1851, his plans for the "Extension of the United States Capitol" were adopted, and the appointment of Architect of the work conferred upon him by the President of the United States. He held that appointment fourteen years, during which time, in addition to the works of the Capitol Extension, he planned and executed the Iron Dome of the Capitol, the East and West Wings of the Patent Office, and the extension of the General Post Office. He also designed the new Treasury Building, the Marine Barracks at Brooklyn and at Pensacola, and the Government Hospital for the Insane at Washington, District of Columbia.

Immediately after his appointment in 1851, he removed his family to Washington, where he continued to reside until 1865, when the

works under his charge were completed. On the first of June of that year he tendered his resignation and returned with his family to Philadelphia.

He made a public profession of religion and was baptized in the River Schuylkill, at Spruce Street, Philadelphia, by the Rev. John C. Murphy, on the 12th of July, 1829, and on the same day was received into the membership of the Spruce Street Baptist Church, then worshipping temporarily in the Court House, at the corner of Chestnut and Sixth streets, the Meeting House in Spruce Street not having yet been completed. He was many years Clerk of the Church, and also Superintendent of the Sunday-School. When called to Washington in 1851, to take charge of the Extension of the Capitol, he removed his membership to the E Street Baptist Church of that city, where he instructed a Bible Class consisting of some 50 or more young men, which he kept up during the most of the time he resided in that city. On his return to Philadelphia he became one of the constituent members of the "Second Baptist Church of Germantown," the organization of which took place September 20, 1866.

He was twice married. His first wife was Mary Ann E. Hancocks, daughter of Robert Hancocks; and his second wife Amanda Gardiner, daughter of Dr. Richard Gardiner. A biographical sketch of each will follow this memoir.

He has retired from the active practice of his profession, and is devoting his time to scientific and literary pursuits, and to the advancement of art in his native city. He resides at present (1871) in Germantown, one of the rural wards of Philadelphia. In 1849, he received the honorary degree of Master of Arts (A. M.), from Madison University, New York. In 1853, that of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph. D.), from the University of Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, and in 1857, from Harvard University, that of Doctor of Laws (LL. D.) He held a Professorship of Architecture in the Franklin Institute of the State of Pennsylvania, and lectured on his art in that Institute for two successive seasons. In the year 1860, he delivered a course of lectures on Architecture before the students of Columbian College, District of Columbia. He had also delivered, from time to time, many popular lectures on the same subject in Philadelphia and its vicinity.

He has been a member of the "American Philosophical Society" more than thirty years, and of the "Franklin Institute of the State of Pennsylvania" since 1829. He was one of the original members of the "American Institute of Architects," and is also connected with many other scientific and literary associations.

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Further documentation regarding Walter's training includes his student notebooks, owned by his granddaughter, Mrs. Carroll H.

Wegemann, Baltimore, and titles in the Library of The Franklin Institute, where he was first a student and then a member.

As Walter in his retirement recalled his early career, it is easy to see how he felt that all his activities prior to the start of his career as architect were devoted toward that end, as, no doubt, they were in the mind of the ambitious young man. Remark has indeed been made at the mature wisdom involved in pursuing such a program. Mason (3) in his A. I. A. address makes the scholastic program most appealing, speaking of how Walter started at fifteen with the designer of Philadelphia's Custom House (also claimed for Latrobe), Mint, and Merchant's Exchange, with its Choragic Monument of Lysicrates apse, of how he stayed until he had mastered linear drawing and acquired a general knowledge of professional practice. He then resumed, we are told, his general studies, with intensive work in mathematics. For seven years he studied physical science also, drawing and painting, mechanical construction, and even landscape painting, returning at twenty-four for a final period of two years of intensive architectural work. This survey is but a little different from the architect's own recollections—accurate enough, let us repeat, in terms of objectives. The first indication that there might be another interpretation, no less creditable, but more credible, comes from Dunlap (4), who says he was apprenticed in bricklaying and stone masonry to his father, devoting his leisure hours to architecture, his father being master mason at the Bank of the United States, later the Custom House, which Strickland was building at the time. By 1825, Dunlap says, he was himself a master bricklayer, pursuing meanwhile varied studies to which his talents in drawing and mathematics led him. In 1830 he became an intensive pupil of Strickland's, giving his whole time to architecture and engineering, and then began practice as an architect. Corroborative of this less romantic interpretation are diary references made by Nicholas Biddle (5). Walter, he says, was the son of a bricklayer, the former assistant of his father, who later studied architecture with Strickland. And, lastly, we have the prosaic account of Jackson, the latest of the investigators (6), who says the year the lad was fifteen was marked, not by entering Strickland's office, but by beginning his apprenticeship to his father, aiding him as contractor in brick and stone for Strickland's Bank of the United States; that he remained with his father until he was twenty-one, when he set up inde-

pently as a bricklayer, with an office and residence on Race Street, near Ninth; that he studied architecture at the Franklin Institute under Strickland, and pursued his general studies for the seven hitherto mentioned years in spare time, and (here biographer and autobiographer agree) that in 1830 he entered Strickland's office for eighteen months of intensive study in architecture and engineering. The facts, then, seem to honor Walter's energetic mastery of obstacles rather than his youthful educational theories.

Before turning to Walter's work as an architect, we must consider briefly his activities outside his profession, and also his personality. From his own account it is clear that as clerk, deacon, Sunday school superintendent, and Bible class leader he was consistent in his active support of the several churches to which he belonged. He is said to have written a number of hymns which attained at least local fame. Until professional activities took all his time, he was active also in furthering local efforts toward the development of popular taste, centered especially in the Franklin Institute, of which he was a member from 1829, later a member of the board of managers, and in 1846 chairman of the board (3). He was invited by the managers to give a course of lectures (voluntary) on architecture in 1836, as also in the following year. For a time he also contributed to the Journal of the Institute, being listed for some years on the editorial staff of collaborators, and styled Professor of Architecture.

Next, reference should be made to his activities in the organization of his professional associates. In 1836 there was an attempt to start an American Institute of Architecture, though there were scarcely a dozen properly trained architects in the country (3). A preliminary meeting was held in New York, December 7, 1836, to be followed by an organization meeting at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia, May 2, 1837. The call for this second meeting, signed by Walter as secretary, now hangs in the A. I. A. offices in the *Octagon,* Washington. It was found, however, that there were too few architects to keep the organization active. In 1857 the still flourishing A. I. A. was established. Walter succeeded Richard Upjohn as the second president in 1876, and held the office until his death. His addresses at the various conventions are given in the annual proceedings as the years go by. An interesting sample can be found in his address in 1880. He alludes to the passing of the classic forms in an

effort to express the spirit of the age, Queen Anne, Stuart, Jacobean, Rennaissance, and Eastlake, being the current fashions—"having no trace whatever of paternity, ancient or modern." He finds the new designs lack fundamental æsthetic principles, without vigor in mass, an "aggregation of trivialities in the making up of details."

In 1860 it is recorded that he lectured on architecture at Columbian, now George Washington University in Washington, and also occasionally in Philadelphia. Finally a youthful effort at spreading culture is to be seen in the incorporation, by Walter and others, of the Athenian Institute of Philadelphia, designed to provide public lectures on moral, literary and scientific questions, April 28, 1838. In the Ridgeway Library is a letter from the chairman of the committee to Walter regarding the improvement of a lot on Chestnut Street by the Franklin Institute in association with the Athenian, the former owning the lot, the latter proposing to erect the building.

There are two published works, partly original and partly compilation, by Walter. One is entitled *Two Hundred Designs for Cottages and Villas,* by Walter and J. Jay Smith (7). The designs are strangely varied for a classicist, being Gothic, Classic, Rustic, and Fantastic. Walter signs one of the Gothic façades, with towers flanking the front porch, and piers projecting at oblique angles from the corners. The other book is by the same collaborators, *A Guide to Workers in Metals and Stone,* in four volumes (8). Here the former craftsman shows a delight in manufacture which perhaps reached its climax in the bronze balustrade he designed later for the Senate staircase in the Capitol.

Extant letters from Walter should come next. Mrs. Wegemann owns many of them, but they are not yet made public. She also possesses the MS. report Walter made after his European trip to the Girard trustees, the copy book of his letters while in Venezuela, and diaries and account books at different periods. She tells of a large number of letters, of interest to collectors, sold to a Philadelphia dealer by the Misses Olivia and Ida Walter. Letters of only casual interest are owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the New York Public Library.

Among the commentators on Walter's character, John H. B. Latrobe, in his 1881 address before the A. I. A. (9), spoke of the president as "brilliant, refined and accomplished." At the memorial

deliberations during the 1888 convention, President Richard M. Hunt spoke of how Walter's experience, judgment and manner had aided the progress of the Institute during his term of office, and the official eulogist (3) said that his professional learning was "deep and well-digested," that his manner of architectural composition was "pure, artistic and dignified," and that in social life he was a "cultured gentleman." Glenn Brown writes (10):

Mr. Walter, in his architectural designs, followed classical models, and his work showed well-studied plans, a dignity in mass, and a refinement in detail which gives his buildings a quality that will be appreciated by the refined and cultured of the future. He was an indefatigable student and industrious worker until his death. He lent a willing hand and gave with zeal his time to any matter which tended to advance the profession of architecture, and endeared himself to all who came in contact with him by his genial social qualities.

As I remember him, his personal appearance was most striking—a large frame, with a strong and impressive face and head crowned with bushy white hair.

The principles upon which he acted during life are well expressed in the following extract with which he closed an address to the A. I. A.:

"We owe it to our country, to the age in which we live, to our families, to ourselves, to devote the rapidly fleeting hours of our lives to the accomplishment of the greatest possible good in our vocation, ever seeking to discharge our duties in all good conscience toward those whose interests are entrusted to our care, toward coworkers in the realm of art, and toward Him in whom we live and move and have our being."

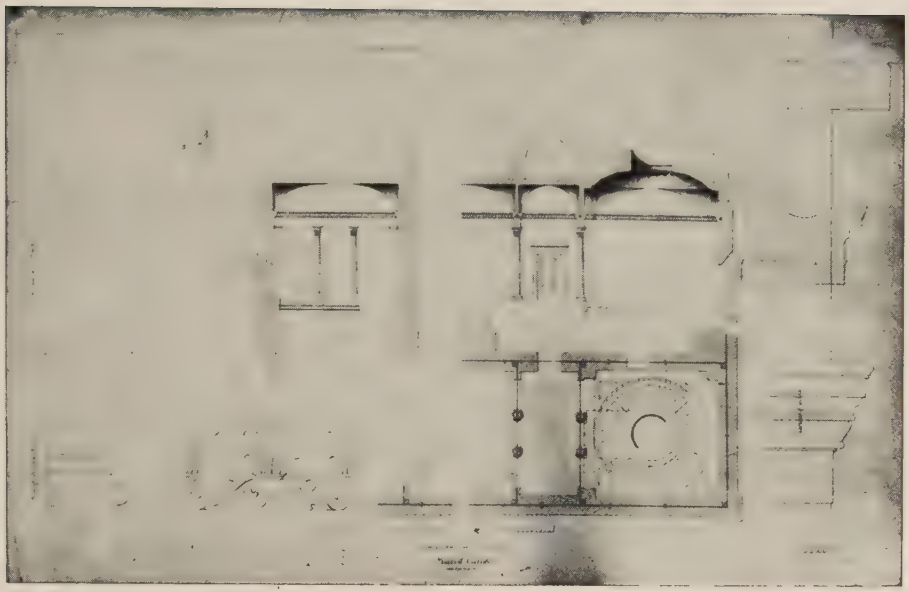
A bit less formally, the grandchildren recall how Sunday night supper was the one meal in the week at which they were permitted to eat with their grandfather, often the minister of the day being present as guest, and how Mr. Walter would grow expansive with anecdote and theological discussion. It was different at other times. If any unnecessary noise or confusion arose, "Children, you make me bite my tongue." He permitted himself but two meals a day, one after several hours of work starting at five in the morning, the other in the evening, before another period of work. They recall his conversation as a major educational influence, the strict regimen of the household, keyed to quiet and work, and the universal deference paid whenever in latter years he appeared in public.

II

Walter's first important commission as architect (1832-35) was for the Philadelphia County Prison, Philadelphia, usually called Moyamensing Prison, and styled by Dunlap "castellated architecture" (4). Walter's own description occurs in the "Franklin Institute Journal," II, pp. 189-91 (7). For the women's section (1837-38) in a separate building a brown sandstone entrance was provided in a "simple Egyptian style," with the entire western façade in similar material and style. The Debtors' Apartment, north of the main prison (1836), had a façade marked by a recessed portico reminiscent of the Temple of the Sun on the Island Elephantine, and the windows were crowned with the massy bead and cavetto of the Egyptian manner, a motive used again at the top of the building. Even the winged globe appeared in the cavetto of the main cornice and over the door. Jackson (6) points out that this was the earliest use of Egyptian motives in America. The Debtors' Jail was never used for more terrifying purposes than for housing State witnesses pending their appearance in court.

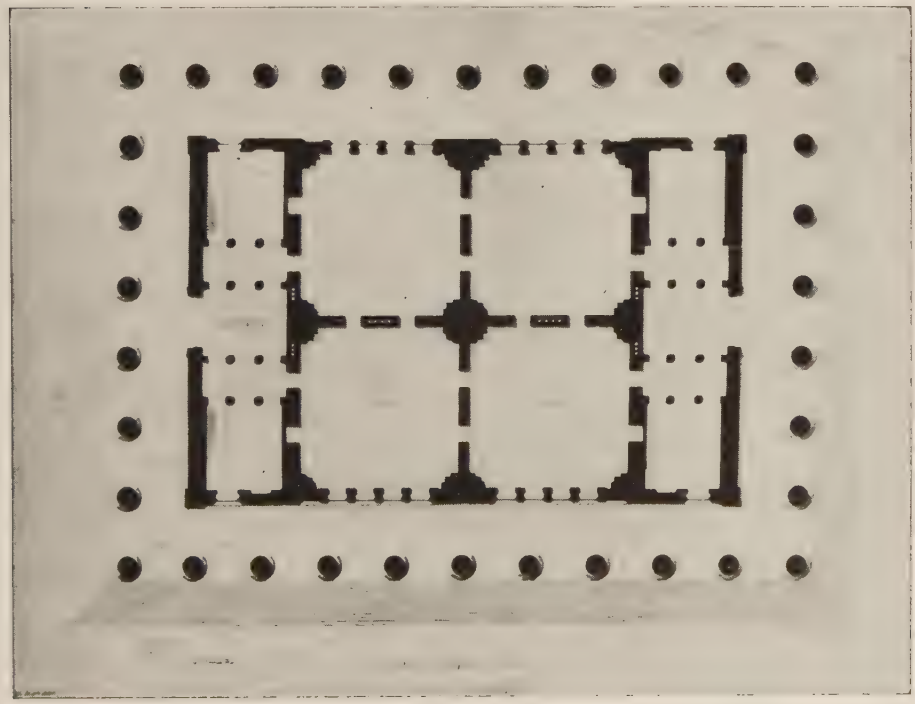
Leaving Girard College out of the picture for the present, let us comment on the other known works of Walter prior, for the most part, to his departure for Washington in 1851. First come private houses. As Kimball has observed, Walter, like Strickland and Mills, generally avoided temple forms in this type (13). The Matthew Newkirk house, 13th and Arch Street, Philadelphia, later known as St. George's Hall (14, Pl. XXXII) heads the list. "The front is of white marble. The beautiful portico is copied from the Erechtheum; the Ionic columns and richly-ornamented capitals of that celebrated temple have been universally admired as perfect models in Classic Architecture. Thomas U. Walter, architect." So writes Mrs. Tuthill in 1847. Kimball thinks the house was the best of the Greek Revival in domestic work. It was torn down early in the present century.

Next, there was the Dundas house, Philadelphia (14, Pl. XXXI), with a hexastyle Ionic portico before a front door provided with rectangular sidelights and fan. In 1834 Nicholas Biddle enlarged his house on the Delaware, *Andalusia,* by copying the Theseum, Athens, the first enthusiast to use a peripteral colonnade for a private house. In the account books referred to above, we read of various charges



(Courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania)

SECTION AND PLAN OF VESTIBULE, GIRARD COLLEGE, PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA



(Courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania)

PLAN OF FIRST STORY, GIRARD COLLEGE, PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

made by Walter for services to Mr. Biddle in connection with his "cottage." There seems little reason to doubt that the architect, at the time engaged on Girard College, was the professional consultant of Mr. Biddle, though it may be surmised that the archæological knowledge displayed came from the owner rather than from the architect. Other private houses mentioned include the house for Joseph Cowperthwaite, also on the Delaware, and the house for the architect's own use in Germantown on his return to Philadelphia in 1865.

Banks recorded include the Philadelphia Savings Bank at Seventh and Walnut streets, and the Chester County Bank, West Chester, Pennsylvania (3). Churches would include the Fourth Universalist Church, once at the northeast corner of Juniper and Locust streets, Philadelphia, and the Spruce Street Baptist Church, Spruce Street near Fifth, Philadelphia, both built in the forties (6). Jackson suggests, on the basis of its Egyptian style, that the Crown Street Synagogue may have been a Walter design. There are also the First Presbyterian Church, West Chester, Pennsylvania (15); the First Baptist Church, Richmond, Virginia; and the Eutaw Place Baptist Church, Baltimore, the last with white marble façade, built as late as 1871.

Commissions for courthouses also came to Walter. At West Chester he designed the Chester County Courthouse (16), finished in 1847, with a colossal Corinthian portico in front, in prostyle form. Transverse wings with pilasters and pediments complete a neat composition, if it were not for the clumsy Wren tower perched aloft. One would be tempted to say it must be a later addition were it not for a similar scheme used at the Berks County Courthouse at Reading, Pennsylvania (17). In this second case an Ionic prostyle temple on a high base, with center and end entrances to the cellar, is provided not merely with a clumsy clock tower, but with a statue on top of it! That these two compilations cannot be charged merely to youth is evident when we read of the prize awarded Walter in 1835 for the Hibernian Hall, Charleston, South Carolina (18)—a distinguished Ionic hexastyle temple design. Only the door and windows above break the front cella wall. Windows down the sides are bound by pilasters reaching from the ground to the entablature, itself severely plain. The structure was finished in 1841.

Mention having also been made of the County Prison at West Chester, and of Horticultural (later Memorial) Hall, at the same place (15), we are back in Philadelphia for comment on the Preston Retreat and Wills Hospital, both visible on the Parkway now reaching from the City Hall to the Art Museum. Dunlap is the authority for the Walter authorship of the Wills Hospital (4), Philadelphia's famous eye hospital, now in new and spacious quarters on Spring Garden Street. The building on Race Street near Eighteenth remained nearly as built until 1909, when limestone replaced marble for the façade, and other changes in design took place (6). At the moment it is being suggested for varied purposes, with its chances of continued existence remote. Preston Retreat is at Hamilton and Twentieth streets. In 1909 an additional story was added; otherwise Walter's design still remains (6). The building consists of a front unit, with projecting center, adorned with a tetrastyle Doric order, entablature and pediment, reached by a flight of steps, and of an extension to the rear, also marked with a colonnade. Rectangular window openings and a polygonal cupola complete the design, a balustrade hiding the roof. String-courses, rusticated basement walls, and ribbon-treatment of windows between pilaster-like forms help to refine and functionalize the design.

We need say no more of the engineering program in Venezuela than Walter tells in his biography—chiefly because little more is known. It is reported to be still in use, the pride of the country, according to Mrs. Wegemann. Also, it is convenient here to mention Walter's connection with the City Hall, Philadelphia, John MacArthur, architect, about which varied statements have been made. After Walter's return to Philadelphia, when he was living in virtual retirement, he advised MacArthur regarding the tower, thereby lessening its height and ensuring its stability, and he, when money stringency developed, accepted an invitation to assist with the decorative work on the building. One is glad to learn from Mrs. Wegemann of her distinct recollection that Mr. Walter was much annoyed if he were spoken of as in any way responsible for the architecture of the structure. He was invited to assist the architect, however, at the laying of the corner stone (6), and held his position in association with MacArthur until his death, October 30, 1887. We learn, also, that Walter had many young men in his office as architectural apprentices

from time to time (3). One of them, Edward Clark, succeeded him as architect of the Capitol, when he retired in 1865. Following the custom of the time, Walter had his office in Philadelphia next to his residence, in this way being enabled to guide the young men's leisure as well as their work, and to insist on the latter.

The first document to be considered in connection with Girard College is a diary of Nicholas Biddle, the protagonist of the Greek Revival in America, recounting from the point of view of the president of the trustees the story of the erection of the original buildings. This diary is given in two forms, slightly different, but each apparently authentic, in the "Proceedings of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia" (14), and in the "Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography" (5). The former document is spoken of as a memorandum penned presumably in 1843, the latter as from a diary under date January 9, 1839. The diary entry tells how Stephen Girard left two million dollars to found a college for orphan boys, with a reserve fund to be used, if necessary, of at least as much more. Biddle was chosen president of the trustees, and the erection of the college was the first order of business. The councils had already offered a premium for the best plan, and had granted it to Walter, who had subsequently been chosen the architect. "There then was an Architect appointed and his plan approved, and the danger was that this plan might be adopted. I say *danger*. Mr. Walter was the son of a bricklayer and had begun life by working with his father—at a later period he studied architecture with Mr. Strickland, and succeeded to the post of architect against his old Master, by a majority of (I believe) one vote. His plan was for a large, showy building, wanting simplicity and purity, but not ill adapted to please others as it had already pleased the Councils." Biddle manœuvred until he became chairman of the sub-committee of trustees and councils charged with the erection of the building. "The first difficulty was to wean Mr. Walter from his plan,—to which the natural self-love of a young artist, of course, attached him, and I endeavored, while doing justice to the merits of the plan, to excite his ambition to achieve something beyond his plan or the plan of anyone else; in short, to take advantage of this rare opportunity of immortalizing himself by a perfect, chaste specimen of Grecian architecture. He was inclined to listen from confidence in me as he had worked at the Bank of the

United States, where I was chairman of the Building Committee. He behaved perfectly well about it, no one could have done better. He renounced his own plan and came at once into my views, and prepared all the necessary drawings and seconded me with great cordiality." Biddle further succeeded by manipulation and persuasion in winning over the sub-committee, the committee, the trustees, and the councils, who hesitated at first when called on to erect a Greek temple for an almshouse. They even caught the spirit of the enterprise, and when the flank colonnades were tentatively omitted, voted unanimously for a peripteral plan. Walter's own description may be found in the "Journal of the Franklin Institute" for May, 1838; current reports are dated January 2, 1837, December 30, 1837, and January 21, 1839(?).

Our investigation takes us next to the pamphlets boxed as Girard College Reports in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. They begin with the "Laying of the Cornerstone, July 4, 1833," on which occasion Nicholas Biddle spoke eloquently. The "Report of the Architect for 1833" gives a perspective drawing of the entire project. For 1834 the Building Committee conscientiously reports that the details of the Girard will are being modified only in the thickening of the walls, since the builders had to choose between the direction that after a certain height the walls were to be decreased to two feet in thickness, and the instruction that the building should be erected in the most permanent and durable manner. The walls were being chained and banded as directed, and the surrounding portico had been found necessary to strengthen the third story arches. The "Architect's Report for 1837" tells of interesting experiments conducted on the expansibility of the iron bands embedded in the walls to resist the lateral pressure of the arches. Finally, the "Architect's Report for 1848" tells the whole story once more.

Four subordinate buildings faced with marble had also been finished, arranged symmetrically, two to a side. Spaces between the buildings were inclosed by marble walls and divided into gardens and playgrounds. A wall surrounded the whole estate with spur piers on the inside and buttresses on the outside, built of rubble and capped with marble. At the south entrance two octagonal lodges were provided (since replaced) faced with white marble, with double gates between. At the north entrance were two rusticated marble piers

crowned with marble projecting cornice and blocking, with outer and inner gates. The total cost is given as $1,933,821.78. The buildings were finished in 1847 and opened in 1848.

Criticisms made when the estimates were exceeded during the construction of the building and the income shrank, are answered in the Biddle memorandum (19). The architect in his 1840 report, also, compares the progress he is making to the time spent on the Madeleine, in Paris, and in his 1842 report he defends his original estimate as more than an opinion, and tells of how he had to prepare the estimate in five days.

Finally, there is the matter of how far the will cramped the style of the architect (19). Biddle defends the designer. He lists comparable structures, the Parthenon, Theseum, and the Temple of Jupiter Olympias at Athens, the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, the Temple of Jupiter Olympias at Agrigentum, the Madeleine at Paris, the Town Hall at Birmingham, and the Bank of the United States in Philadelphia, as regards proportions. He then argues both that the will necessitated the proportions used at the college, and that they are preferable anyway, in his mind, to that of the ancient buildings he has seen, where, at least according to rule, the flank had double the number of columns used in front plus one. He recalls how in comparing the Bank of the United States to the Parthenon he had mentioned with approval the omission of the inner row of columns in the portico in the former case. When at the Patent Office, Washington, a double colonnade in the portico was used, he was convinced that porticoes in single colonnades were preferable. And, therefore, he defends the omission of a second row at the ends of the college, favored merely to reach the proportions of ancient prototypes.

From the point of view of the users of the building, however (before Pennsylvania marble yielded to Vermont marble and then to limestone, and the student body rose from 300 to 1,500), the story is less academic. Walter C. Gold '90 (11) reports: "Mr. Walter predicted that when finished according to the plans of Mr. Girard, the building never would be satisfactory. That he was in no wise responsible for the poor acoustic conditions is indicated in a footnote of his report of January 8, 1848, above referred to. He said, 'The reverberation of sound in these rooms, in consequence of their magnitude and their arch-formed ceilings, renders them wholly unfit for use; and

unless a level ceiling is thrown in at the top of the cornice, or some other means adopted to destroy the reverberation, they can never be used for the purposes of school or recitation rooms. They are, however, constructed in exact accordance with the Will, and these results were anticipated in the earliest stages of the work, but as Mr. Girard left no discretionary power in reference to this part of the design, we were compelled to take the letter of the Will as our guide, let the results be what they might.'" We may note, however, that for sixty-six years the college was used principally for school purposes, according to Mr. Gold.

Our last document is Walter's report in 1884 (21) on the state of the structure. In all essentials he found it "is solid and as permanent as it was on the day of its completion."

The trip to Europe in connection with the construction of the college mentioned in the autobiography led to an elaborate report to the trustees. Despite the numerous practical methods he saw in use, many of which he was able to adopt at Girard, the fact remains, as Tallmadge points out (22), that with bedroom windows seeking light from behind a colonnade, it was just such glaring examples of the inappropriate that led to the downfall of the Greek Revival style. Jackson (6), however, believes that in these buildings he even refined on the style he imitated.

The first important document which connects Walter with the program of Federal buildings in Washington is a *Report* dated as early as 1838 (23). He had been directed, he states, to examine the new Treasury Building, then in progress, as regarded its site, plan, stability, and effect; also the solidity of the Patent Office, likewise in progress. He speaks of the delicacy of his problem, being called to advance opinions on the work of your "venerable and accomplished architect" (Robert Mills, 1781-1855). He criticizes the site of the Treasury, pointing out that the space is too limited, and that it mars the city plan (it and the Library of Congress still make the complete restoration of the L'Enfant Plan impossible). The first objection was subsequently removed when the State Department moved to its present quarters on the other side of the White House (24). Walter finds the walls are too thin for so large a vaulted building, having just faced the same problem at Girard. He finds the top rooms are darkened by the colonnade (the East or Fifteenth Street

façade of the present structure), and the cellar rooms damp and dark. He criticizes the use of forty-two columns in a continuous line on an inclined plane as monotonous, though they have been admired (at least thirty of them) for the same reason. In fine, he recommends the demolition of the building and its erection elsewhere. It should be said in Mills' defense that the site, when the discussion threatened to be interminable, was determined by the fiat of President Jackson. As for the Patent Office, Walter found the walls again too weak. Here he recommended alterations rather than demolition. He suggested Lafayette Square as a center for government offices, an idea which is once more coming to the front among the city planners of Washington, and urged the use of more durable and beautiful material in the government buildings than the prevailing Aquia Creek sandstone. The congressional committee who had called Walter in as consultant also criticized the materials as inferior, and recommended the use of what could be salvaged from the Treasury in a new Post Office, needed to take the place of the one just burned. The matter was tabled.

Next comes the competition for the Capitol Extension in 1850 (24a), (24b). Mills had been the Supervisor of Buildings since 1830. He designed the Treasury and Patent Office, as well as the Washington Monuments in Baltimore and in Washington. He was asked to submit drawings for the new wings by the Committee on Public Buildings, May 28, 1850 (10). They were prepared (10, Pls. 137-39). However, a competition was advertised in the "National Intelligencer," September 30, 1850. Four designs were chosen from those sent in and the premium of $500 divided. Of these the design of one (anonymous) competitor (10, Pls. 141-44) and Walter's survive (10, Pls. 145-48). However, from descriptions handed down the features of each of the four are known.

A merely increased the length of the existing building north and south, B duplicated the existing structure to the east, C showed the wings with the east and west axes at right angles to the axis of the old building, the north and south axes coincident, and D showed the wings extending farther to the east than to the west of the old building.

Mills was then instructed to draw a new plan from various sources, including the four just mentioned. It was recommended that the

wings should be attached to the north and south ends of the old building, that the east and west axes should be at right angles to the north and south axes, that the west front of the wings should be back of the west front of the old building, and the east front far beyond the old east front. In general, the features of the anonymous competitor were adopted.

On the date the competition was advertised Congress had voted, however, in the Civil and Diplomatic Act, "For the extension of the Capitol, according to such plans as may be approved by the President, $100,000; to be expended under his direction by such architects as he may appoint to execute the same" (25). Accordingly, President Fillmore in his annual message, December, 1851, affirming his authority to approve the plan and appoint the architect, appointed Walter. On June 10, 1851, he had approved the general outline of Walter's plan. Jackson (6) speaks of Mills as retiring at the time on account of age, and Scarborough records that his death was hastened by his failure to secure priority (26).

Walter as architect for the Capitol Extension proceeded to draw various sets of plans, presumably using ideas from all sources. Brown gives in Pl. 147 a modification of his competitive plan, in Pl. 140 an elevation found among Walter's papers signed by the Corps of Topographical Engineers, the latter looking surprisingly like the wings as erected. The third of the post-competitive plans laid before the President received Fillmore's approval (10, Pls. 151-54, Senate; Pls. 155-58, House; Pl. 164, north and south front of wings; Pls. 160, 161, east and west fronts of wings; Pl. 162, front facing old building; Pl. 163, front behind porticoes). In his first report, December 23, 1851, Walter says, "The architecture of the exterior is designed to correspond in its principal features to that of the present building, and the disposition of the various parts is intended to present the appearance of one harmonious structure and to impart dignity to the present building rather than to interfere with its proportions or detract from its grandeur or beauty" (10).

Just how skillfully this correlation was done can be seen if one compares the wings with Latrobe's center and with Thornton's façades to either side of the center portico. Bulfinch's dome, of course, gave way later to Walter's, which still awaits the extension of the center to give it as adequate a base as it has silhouette.

Before tracing further the course of Walter's work as architect of the Capitol Extension, it will be convenient to summarize the Anderson claims to authorship of the design of the wings. The pertinent documents are four pamphlets in the Library of Congress by Charles Frederick Anderson (27-30), letters in the files of the Art Curator of the Capitol, and an anonymous article in *Architecture* (31). In surveying the evidence, with Anderson's original drawings lost, we must conclude that he was not justified in his position. Whatever the preceding events may have been, once Walter was appointed, he was justified in using elements from any source he saw fit—the competitors having been premiated, and the President having clearly taken charge in place of the congressional committees. It may well be that Anderson through his tireless efforts was influential in causing the location of the chambers of Senate and House *within* each wing, and that some of his ideas of ventilation and acoustics were used in the construction.

There is only one possibility of a needed review of the matter. Could the drawing given by Brown, Pl. 140, possibly be one of the "lost" Anderson drawings? The anonymous writer in *Architecture* tells how Anderson's drawings were framed and hung in Anderson's office in Washington, rendered beautifully in lead pencil by a friend, McCoy, an engraver in the office of the Coast Survey. If this possibility is correct, Walter must surrender a considerable share of his credit for the exterior design of the wings. It should be pointed out, however, that even if the contingency mentioned finds future support, Walter cannot be held in any way culpable. Brown points out that even on the basis of the modified centers (after Meigs' revisions), Walter so developed the interiors as to make them his own. And in the event of the proposed transfer of credit, it would merely mean that Anderson and Walter are to be called the designers of the wings, as Hallet and Thornton are now known to have been of the original design of the building. To raise the suspicion that Walter destroyed Anderson's drawing, as the writer in *Architecture* does, is merely irresponsible use of the documents available. We might add in conclusion that the present head draughtsman in the office of the architect of the Capitol quotes his grandfather, August Schoenborn, head draughtsman under both Walter and Clark, as stating in his manuscript autobiography that Walter designed the wings. As inconvertible, on

the other hand, is the change made when Meigs took charge (through Anderson's efforts or otherwise) as evidenced by the foundations still visible—made for the outside positions of the chambers, and subsequently discarded.

For Walter's career while architect of the Capitol Extension, Brown (10) and the *Documentary History of the Capitol* (32) are the chief sources. The corner stone was laid July 4, 1851, Daniel Webster being the orator. An anecdote preserved in the Walter family tells of how the statesman used Walter's MS. for his speech, and how Walter's handwriting is now being preserved in the corner stone, which contains the oration of the occasion. Walter says in his first *Report,* December 23, 1851, "The general design and outlines . . . . were decided on by the President of the United States on the 10th of June last; and in accordance with his instructions, I proceeded, without delay, to prepare the necessary drawings . . . . " Almost immediately Congress began hearing and voicing complaints in regard to frauds, mismanagement, inferior materials, and so on. Brown believes these fomentings were engineered by the jealous Commissioner of Public Buildings and Grounds, William Easby, whose authority did not extend over the rising wings. The investigation which followed showed evils, frequently attributable to the political activities of the President and the members of Congress, with the result of the transfer of the project from the Interior to the War Department, and the appointment of Captain Meigs as superintendent. The investigating committee then approved Meigs' changes, chiefly the removal of the chambers of the Senate and House to the interior of the wings. Whether through approval, tact, or mere relief at the passage of the investigation, Walter is quoted as favoring the changes. Clark, Walter's successor, is quoted in the *Documentary History* as crediting to Meigs also, not only the more effective management, and the regulation of the ventilation and acoustics, but also much of the construction of the dome.

Walter's plans for the rebuilding of the Library of Congress, to embrace the entire western center of the old Capitol, are of interest. They were made following the fire of December 24, 1851. He projected a fireproof scheme, principally of iron. In his report to the Secretary of the Interior, December 28, 1852, he says, "in the finish of this room I desire to keep to the idea of the whole being

composed of metal, which could not be done if other than metallic colors were used." He is quoted as saying it was the "largest room made of iron in the world." In Pls. 169-70 Brown shows this early example of functionalism, while Pls. 251-53a show the Library as later built.

Congress continued to criticize, in time including Meigs along with Walter. The two were soon at logger-heads, each claiming authority. The controversy came to a climax under Secretary of War Floyd, in President Buchanan's administration. Meigs was replaced by Captain W. B. Franklin, November 1, 1859, and on April 16, 1862, the management of construction was once more placed in the hands of the Interior Department, and Walter was left in sole command. With the work on the building practically complete, the Secretary of the Interior, May 25, 1865, advised Walter that contracts for the Library were to be abrogated, and that the Commissioner of Public Buildings and Grounds would hereafter be in charge. Walter, rather than face another period of divided authority, resigned May 26, 1865, confident his former pupil, Edward Clark, and his head draughtsman, August Schoenborn, were well able to finish the work as designed. The House, we may note, had been occupied December 13, 1857, and the Senate, January 4, 1859.

The story of the dome and the development of the grounds will be traced first in the *Documentary History* (32). On February 22, 1855, $100,000 was appropriated in the House to construct the new dome, designed by Walter. When Meigs claimed equal credit with Walter, the latter reports to Secretary Davis, March 4, 1856, that no "essential" change had been made over the original drawings. Walter's Reports 1862-64 tell of the later steps in the construction, and are followed by one for 1865 by his successor, Clark. F. L. Olmsted, October 1, 1881, writes to Clark of Walter's approval of his plans for terraces to the west of the building, and in an interview with Senator Morrill spoke of his purpose to design the setting of the building in such a way as to permit the future development of Walter's eastern extension. Walter in his 1864 Report gave the reason for his proposed eastern extension, "Now that the new dome and the wings of the Capitol are approaching completion, it must be apparent to every one that the extension of the center building, on the east, to the line of the new wings, becomes an architectural necessity. I

have therefore prepared plans for thus completing the work, in harmony with what has already been done, and will place them in the Capitol for future reference." And Mr. Clark in his 1865 Report speaks of the imperative need of the extension of the center, which now had the aspect of inferiority to the wings. He also calls attention to the apparent insecurity of the dome. Walter's plans were modified by Carrère and Hastings in their Report, December 21, 1904. (It may be remarked, parenthetically, that during the 1933 inauguration, the benefit to close views of the dome of the temporary pavilion built for that occasion before the eastern portico was marked.) And in 1937 the matter was still being debated by the authorities (38).

Brown (10) gives the drawings of the Walter dome (Pls. 184-186). The octagonal base rests on the walls of the old dome. Next comes a peristyle of columns crowned by an entablature. An attic comes next, then the semi-ellipsoidal dome, the tholus or lantern, and Crawford's bronze statue, *Liberty*. For the inner dome, the rotunda was left unchanged below the cornice—though Walter often spoke of replacing the pilasters with columns to increase the apparent support of the weight (33). The wall was continued above the cornice, with a recessed band for a frieze of sculpture. A corridor encircled the rotunda, above the frieze, of piers and engaged columns, and from its cornice sprang the inner dome, with an opening of sixty-five feet diameter, showing a colonnade ending at the base of the lantern.

Of Walter's other works in Washington, we may remark more briefly. He designed the north, south, and west fronts of the Treasury, completing the granite structure of Mills. Starting in 1855, the south wing was occupied in 1861, the west wing in 1864, and after the State Department had vacated its quarters, the north wing in 1869 (24, 35).

Walter also continued Mills' work at the Old Patent Office, H and Ninth streets, N. W., adding two wings, complete buildings in themselves, to the east and west of Mills' structure. The building was started in 1837, and Walter finished his additions in 1867. Of the Doric order and in marble, the pediments and colonnades are proportioned on the Parthenon. Indeed, the simplicity of this copy of an illustrious model approaches grandeur.

Opposite one-half of the Patent Office at H and Ninth Street, N. W., is the marble building called the old Post Office, or the Old

Land Office, and now occupied in part by the Tariff Commission. Designed by Mills in 1830 (35), it was erected by Walter.

When the State, War, and Navy Building was authorized in 1871, it was provided that the dimensions and ground plan of the Treasury should be followed. Walter drew the plans (35), but A. B. Mullett, the supervising architect of the Treasury, "improved" the exterior until some nine hundred too many colonettes marred its surface. Only Walter's interior plan remained. At present plans are projected for its remodeling by Waddy Wood, with the exterior once more brought into harmony with the Treasury, and the interior adapted to needs of the State Department, now the sole occupant of the structure.

Naval Barracks at Brooklyn, New York, and at Pensacola, Florida, reported to be the finest in existence at the time of their erection, also came from Walter's office while he was in Washington. Likewise, the buildings for the government hospital for the insane, St. Elizabeth's, Washington. When Walter's account books now in the possession of Mrs. Wegemann are examined, many of his private commissions will no doubt be revealed—churches and private houses, in particular. That any new attribution will materially change our judgment of his work, or add outstanding examples to his output, is unlikely.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

In addition to the illustrations in Glenn Brown, the Documentary History, and the 1902 Report, already sufficiently referenced, the following list of pertinent illustrations is appended:

Portraits (oil) by John Neagle, owned by Mrs. C. H. Wegemann, Baltimore (11, frontispiece); (oil) by Francisco Pausas, Office of the Architect of the Capitol (25, p. 242).

Moyamensing Prison, Philadelphia (6, p. 197).

Girard College, Philadelphia (6 p. 201; 34 p. 133; 19 p. 203 from original water-color made by Walter for Nicholas Biddle; 14 frontispiece). Steel engraving, J. W. Steel (37, p. 499).

Preston Retreat, Philadelphia (6, p. 203).

Andalusia, Biddle House, Philadelphia (36, p. 101).

Dundas House, Philadelphia (14, Pl. XXXI).

Newkirk House (St. George's Hall), Philadelphia (14, Pl. XXXII).

Old Post Office, Washington (34, p. 120; 35, p. 282).

Old Patent Office, Washington (34, p. 134; 35, p. 283).

Treasury Department, Washington (24, pp. 82, 84; 35, pp. 379, 382).

State Department (remodelled), Washington (35, p. 376).

Berks County Courthouse, Reading, Pennsylvania (17, p. 167).

Chester County Courthouse, West Chester, Pennslyvania (16, p. 118).

Hibernian Hall, Charleston, South Carolina (18, following p. 4).

DRAWINGS

In locating Walter drawings it should be borne in mind that before the days of blue prints it was customary to make duplicate drawings, both signed by the head of the

office issuing them. Many of the drawings referred to below, therefore, may involve duplication.

Miscellanea—Crated, and in the possession of Mrs. C. H. Wegemann, Baltimore.
Sketch Book, "U. S. Capitol Extension," *ibid.*
Dome, U. S. Capitol, *ibid.*
Capitol, Bulfinch dome, *ibid.*
Capitol, Walter dome, *ibid.*
Girard College—preliminary conception, *ibid.*
Girard College—as built, *ibid.*
Girard College—second preliminary conception, Glenn Cook, Baltimore.
Capitol, Center Extension Project, Walter Cook, Baltimore.
Capitol, Dome, working drawings, College of Architecture, Cornell University.
Dome, U. S. Capitol, elevation, Library of Congress (gift of Misses Walter).
Dome, U. S. Capitol, section, *ibid.*
Tholus of Dome, U. S. Capitol, elevation, *ibid.*
Tholus of Dome, U. S. Capitol, section, *ibid.*
Treasury Department, southwest view, Treasury Department, Office of the Supervising Architect.
Treasury Department, South Front, *ibid.*
Patent Office, numerous drawings, Office of Public Buildings and Parks, Navy Building.
Capitol, numerous drawings, Office of the Architect (partly on deposit and partly by purchase from the Misses Walter).
Drawings of Girard College, the Philadelphia County Prison, etc. (22), Pennsylvania Historical Society.

VITA

William Sener Rusk was born in Baltimore, Maryland, September 29, 1892, the son of Dr. George Glanville and Mary Yeisley Rusk. He was graduated from Princeton University with an A. B. degree in 1915. He was the Greek and Latin Master at the Boys' Latin School, Baltimore, 1915-1918, and English Master at the Gilman Country School, Baltimore, 1918-1919. For the next two years he was a graduate student at the Johns Hopkins University, the latter year as a Hopkins Scholar. He was Vogeler Fellow (elect) in 1921-1922. In 1921 he joined the Wells College Faculty as Instructor in the History of Art, becoming Assistant Professor in 1922, and Associate Professor in 1924. He received the Master's degree at Johns Hopkins in Classical Archaeology in 1924. He was Assistant Professor of Modern Art at Dartmouth College 1925-1928. Since 1928 he has been Professor of Fine Arts at Wells College. He was a Lecturer of Fine Arts at the Summer Sessions of Columbia University 1924, 1926, 1927, and has been appointed to a similar position at the University of California at Los Angeles in 1939. During the summer of 1925 he was resident at the American Academy at Rome, that of 1928 at the École du Louvre, Paris, those of 1930 and 1931 at Harvard University as Carnegie Scholar. He was elected to Phi Beta Kappa in 1937.

His publications include *Art in Baltimore: Monuments and Memorials,* 1924, *Methods of Teaching the Fine Arts* (editor) 1935, and *William Henry Rinehart, Sculptor,* 1939 (toward which the American Council of Learned Societies granted one thousand dollars), biographical sketches in the Dictionary of American Biography and the Thieme-Becker Kuenstlerlexikon, articles, and book reviews.

He married Evelyn T. Carroll of Rome, New York, August 31, 1932. Mrs. Rusk, a Doctor of Philosophy of Cornell University, is Professor of Mathematics and Dean at Wells College.

To Professor David M. Robinson he is indebted for the scope and methodology of his professional career. The wealth of learning, the ideals of sound scholarship, and the genial personality with which he thus came in contact, have been a constant source of inspiration to him. More particularly, the aid he has received in his study of the classical influences on modern sculptors and architects, has been of unique value in the prosecution of these studies. With classical breadth of interest, Professor Robinson has encouraged the study of beauty wherever and whenever found.